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Vol. V.

THE John Adams

CRAFTSMAN.

BY

CALEB D'ANVERS,

of GRAY'S-INN, Esq;

VOL. V.



LONDON: Printed for R. FRANCKLIN, in *Russel-Street, Covent-Garden*, M,DCC,XXXI.

ADAMS 2158
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THE CRAFTSMAN.

N° 151. SATURDAY, *May* 24, 1729.

Volvenda Dies en attulit ultro.

THE *Freedom of Parliament* is so essentially necessary to the Preservation of our Liberties and the Security of our antient Constitution, that every true Lover of his Country must reflect with Pleasure on the glorious *Act*, lately passed, for the *farther Suppression of* BRIBERY *and* CORRUPTION *in the Election of our Representatives.*

An honourable Member of the House of Commons observes very justly (in his Speech against the Earl of *Macclesfield*) *that* Corruption *is a Crime, in private Life the most detested, and in publick Persons of the most malignant Influence to the State. It deprives the Crown of that solid Strength and Grandeur, that shining Lu-*

ſtre and Beauty, which a juſt Execution of the Laws reflects upon it. It diſarms the People of that Security and Safety, which naturally flow upon them from an impartial and uninterrupted Adminiſtration of Juſtice; the Conſequence of which will ever be, the Crown will loſe that proper Reverence and Veneration from the People, which are its Due; and the Subjects, reſtleſs and uneaſy for want of Juſtice, will lay hold on the firſt Opportunity of throwing off Allegiance it ſelf.

If *Corruption* then is of ſuch pernicious Conſequence in the *Adminiſtration of Juſtice*, how terrible and deſtructive muſt it be, when it ſpreads amongſt the Generality of the People, and creeps into the *Fountain of Juſtice*, the *Legiſlature* it ſelf? The *ſelling of an Office*, or the Male-Execution of a *good Law*, in ſome particular Inſtances, (tho' ſuch Practices ought always to be puniſhed and prevented as far as poſſible) may not be totally inconſiſtent with the general Current of Equity and Juſtice; whereas *bad Laws* (that is, Laws originally obtained by *Corruption*, to ſerve private Ends, without any Regard to publick Good) cannot poſſibly produce any other Effects than univerſal *Injuſtice* and *Oppreſſion*. *Corruption* therefore in the *Legiſlature* is primarily to be ſuppreſſed; and as This is too often and too naturally the Conſequence of *Corruption* in the *Election* of Legiſlators, a wiſe People, deſirous of maintaining their Liberties, cannot take too great or too frequent Precautions againſt this popular and almoſt epidemical Evil.

That ſuch corrupt Methods of *Election* have been too much in Faſhion, in ſome late Reigns, is, I think, evident and undeniable, not only from Experience and the frequent Complaints of *petitioning Candidates*, as well as from ſome Inſtances of Members, who have been *expell'd* on this Account; but from the *Nature*, *Deſign* and *Title* of this Bill it ſelf. We are therefore authoriz'd, by our *Repreſentatives*, to ſay that *Bribery* and *Corruption* have prevail'd, almoſt uni-

univerſally prevail'd to ſo ſcandalous a Degree, that it became neceſſary and incumbent upon them to endeavour, by the moſt effectual *Penalties* and *Diſcouragements*, to ſuppreſs an Evil, which hath ended in the Deſtruction of the moſt famous and flouriſhing States, that ever ſhone in Hiſtory.

The *lower Houſe of Parliament* is the Repreſentative of all the *Commons of Great Britain*; who, by our happy Conſtitution, compoſe a third Part of the *Legiſlature*. The Deſign of its Inſtitution was to maintain the Rights and Liberties of the *People* againſt the Incroachments of the *Crown*, or the Power of the *Nobility*, which have too often united their Strength againſt us; and to relieve us from the Oppreſſions of *tyrannical* and *rapacious Miniſters*.

If ever therefore this great Bulwark of *popular Liberty* ſhould be thrown down by *Force*, or undermined by *Corruption*, the very Eſſence of our Conſtitution would be loſt, and we ſhould be no longer a *free People*.

Hiſtory hath, with good Reaſon, branded one Parliament, in a former Reign, with the Name of a *Rump Parliament*; many of the lawful Members having been ſecluded by *Force*, becauſe they would not fall into the Meaſures of thoſe Times; and I think that a *packt*, *mercenary Parliament*, compoſed of *Mock-Repreſentatives*, choſen by the Influence of a *corrupt* and *corrupting Miniſter* (ſuch as the *Penſionary Parliament* of King *Charles* the *ſecond*) may as juſtly be ſtigmatiz'd with the ſame infamous Title; for what real Difference is there between the Caſe of Thoſe, who are ſecluded by *Force*, and of Thoſe, whoſe honeſt Endeavours are render'd fruitleſs by a Majority of *Creatures*, who follow their Leader blindfold, without any Regard to Truth, or Reaſon, or the Merits of the Cauſe?

What Mr. *Locke* ſays, in his Treatiſe upon *civil Government*, concerning *Breach of Truſt in a Prince*, may

be as justly and more strongly apply'd to a *corrupt Minister*.

" He acts also contrary to his Trust, when he either employs the *Force*, *Treasure* and *Offices* of the " Society, to *corrupt the Representatives* and gain them " to his Purposes; or openly *pre-engages the Electors*, " and prescribes to their Choice such, whom He hath, " by *Sollicitations*, *Threats*, *Promises*, or otherwise, " won to his Designs, and employs them to bring " in such, who have *promised before-hand* what to " vote and what to enact. Thus to *regulate Candidates* and *Elections*, and to *new model the Ways of* " *Election*, what is it but to *cut up the Government* " *by the Roots*, *and poison every Fountain of publick Security?* For the People having reserved to Themselves the Choice of their Representatives, as a " Fence to their Properties, could do it for no other " End, but that They might always be *freely chosen*, " and so chosen *freely act* and *advise*, as the Necessity " of the Commonwealth and publick Good should, " upon Examination and mature Debate, be judged " to require.——— To prepare such an Assembly as " This, and endeavour to get up the *declared Abettors* " *of his own Will* for the *true Representatives* and *Law-makers* of the Society, is certainly *as great a Breach* " *of Trust*, and as perfect a Declaration of a Design to " *subvert the Government*, as is possible to be met " with."

It would be no difficult Task to specify some *such Ministers*; who, by the absolute Power of *opening the Floodgates of a Treasury*, and of disposing *Honours* and *Employments*, have sate in their Closets, and nominated the Members of above half the Boroughs and Corporations in the Kingdom——— But I chuse to forbear mentioning them, lest I should be suspected of drawing unseasonable *Parallels*.

This Practice of *Corruption* (especially with *publick Money*) hath been held of such dangerous Consequence, in

in all Ages, that we have had ſeveral good Laws made to prevent it; but through the Subtlety and Depravity of Mankind (who are always very induſtrious in diſcovering *Loop-holes* and *Evaſions*,) They have had, God knows, but very little Effect.

At length (to the immortal Honour of a *Britiſh Parliament*) an *Act* is paſſed, and will ſoon come in Force, which, it is to be hoped, will prove fully efficacious to this great End. The *Penalties*, at leaſt, are ſo ſevere, and the *Proviſions* ſo wiſely made, as well as clearly expreſs'd, that I think it impoſſible for all the Inventions of crafty and ill-deſigning Men totally to elude the Force of them.

The Advantages, which we may reaſonably promiſe our ſelves from *this Act*, will appear upon the leaſt Reflection.——The *old Country Intereſt* of the beſt Families in the Kingdom (which hath lately been almoſt ſwallow'd up by *Stock-jobbers* and *Monied-Upſtarts*) will return to its former, natural Channel; the Conſequence of which will be, that thoſe Perſons will be ſent up to Parliament, who are beſt known in the Places, for which They are choſen, and moſt acquainted with their true Intereſt; whereas ſuch Perſons, before *this Act* was made, however conſiderable their natural Intereſt might be, were ſeldom returned, unleſs They bought their Election in the ſame Manner with Thoſe, who came from Town; by which Means They encumber'd their Eſtates, and brought Themſelves into a Dependency on Men of Power, to the Ruin often of their *Fortunes*, as well as their *Morals*.—The Landed Gentlemen of ſmall Eſtates, the Freeholders and ſubſtantial Tradeſmen will have great Reaſon to hope that ſuch Members will not give into unneceſſary Taxes and Impoſitions, nor repoſe an unlimited and unreaſonable Confidence in *Miniſters*, but grant Subſidies frugally, and ſee them faithfully apply'd.——Even the loweſt of the People, who have been moſt accuſtom'd to this vile Traffick, will find their Advantage in the

preſent Law. The Money They receive, on theſe Occaſions, hath been ſeldom ſeen to do them any Good. It commonly goes as it comes; and only habituates them to a Courſe of Drunkenneſs and Idleneſs; of which They are very ſeldom able to break Themſelves, when this ſhort Scene of Feaſting and Iniquity is over. Thus They frequently not only ſell their Country, but ruin Themſelves and their Families; whereas the Execution of *this Bill* will intitle them to the conſtant good Offices of the neighbouring Gentlemen, who deſire to ſerve their Country in this great Station. This will naturally create a Dependance on each other, which ought always to be the Cement, that holds together the *Elector* and the *Elected.*

I have not Room, in this Paper, to expatiate on all the Benefits, that will probably accrue to us by *this Act*, which is certainly the moſt *national Act* that hath paſs'd ſince the *Habeas Corpus*; and I have the Pleaſure to obſerve, that *Lords* and *Commons* united their Endeavours, and ſeem'd to vye with each other, who ſhould contribute moſt to ſo glorious and ſeaſonable a Work.

It is matter of great Conſolation to us, amidſt all our preſent, unhappy Circumſtances, to ſee a *Britiſh Houſe of Commons* ſtriking at the Root of almoſt all political Evils, *Corruption*; and vindicating Themſelves, as well as the Honour of their Country, from an Imputation, which hath long lain upon us.

Our *Repreſentatives* therefore have fully done their Duty. It now lies upon us to preſerve it in its utmoſt Strength, and to free ourſelves from the common Reflection, that We make the *beſt Laws*, and execute them the *worſt*. I hope therefore to ſee *this Bill* common in every Family in *England*; for it wants only to be read and underſtood, in order to be valued. Let us, my Countrymen, watch over it and defend it, with all our Vigour, as the great *Palladium* of our Liberties. Let us ſet a Mark upon every Man, who

ſhall

shall endeavour to elude it, as an Enemy to his Country; and look upon every Attempt to *explain* it away, in any Manner, as an Attempt to destroy the Rights and Privileges of the *Commons of Great Britain.*

D.

N° 152. SATURDAY, *May* 31, 1729.

I AM very sorry to find the noble Science of *Astrology* sunk into such Contempt as it is at present; the Professors of it being treated as *Enthusiasts* or *Impostors*, who are either egregiously imposed upon Themselves, or make it their Business to impose upon others. *Astrology* was formerly a Study, in which the greatest *Princes* and *Heroes* were proud of being thought to excel; but through the deplorable Incredulity of the present Age, all Pretences to Knowledge in this *occult Science* are look'd upon as the Effects of a distemper'd Brain, or a criminal Design to cheat ignorant People out of their Senses and their Money.

The late, celebrated Dr. *John Partridge* was certainly the greatest Adept in this mysterious Art, that our Nation can boast of, since *Merlin*, of immortal Memory; and yet it cannot be forgot in what Manner He was treated by 'Squire *Bickerstaff* and some other licentious Scoffers, his Cotemporaries, on this Account. They made a Jest of his Prædictions, and endeavoured to deprive the World of the Benefit of them, by industriously publishing a Report that He was *dead*, and insisting upon it in Print; but such is the

Force

Force of Truth, that the *Doctor* triumphed over all their petulant Wit, and not only continued to oblige us with his *Almanacks*, whilſt he was actually living, but hath likewiſe done the ſame, ever ſince He hath been naturally defunct. *Etiam mortuus loquitur.*

Old Men, who have had the Advantage of Years and Experience, are naturally more ready to give Credit to theſe *oracular Sages* than younger Perſons; and I cannot diſſemble the great Veneration, which I always had for Doctor *Partridge*, both *living* and *dead*, on account of his judicious Prædictions, and that inflexible Zeal, which He hath conſtantly expreſs'd for the *Proteſtant Religion* and the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*.

His Skill in *Aſtrology* and Penetration into *future Events* are, I think, put beyond all Diſpute by the Prædictions publiſhed in his *Almanack* for this Year; which I will beg Leave to tranſcribe (for the Conviction of *Gainſayers*) in the *Doctor*'s own Words and Order, with a few ſhort Obſervations.

JANUARY.

" This Year begins with a Conjunction between " *Saturn* and *Venus*, accompanied with *Mars*, in *Sa-* " *turn*'s own Houſe; by which it plainly appears, " that the Powers of *Europe* are not ſo much inclin'd " to *Peace* as could be wiſhed.

" The old plotting Rogue *Saturn*, being in Con- " junction with *Mars*, portends *no Good*.

" All the Councils of *Europe* will be very huſh this " Month; and the *Romiſh* Prieſts will continue to " pervert a great many from the Faith.

Obſervations.

" *Theſe Prædictions were punctually fulfilled in every* " *Article.*

FEBRUARY.

" The Aſpects of this Month ſhew that *Jeſuits a-* " *broad*, and *Malecontents at home* agree to hinder " the *Congreſs* from ſettling the Peace of *Europe*.

Obſervations.

Observations.

That This was exactly accomplish'd, We have the Authority of an eminent Politician, *who assured us in a* certain Assembly, *that nothing had obstructed the Success of our Negotiations so much as the Obstinacy of our* Enemies *abroad* (*who are known to be all* Papists *or* Jesuits) *and the Encouragement, which hath been given them by* Malecontents *and* Incendiaries *at home.*

MARCH.

" The Effects of *Mars*, being posited in his own " House in *Aries*, begin now to appear; for there is " nothing talked of but *Wars*. However *Jupiter*, be- " ing well dignified in his Triplicity, signifies, that " there will be nothing done this Spring, but *Threats* " and *Pretensions* will be tabled. When they will be " determined, it is very hard to discover.

Observations.

It is well known, that nothing was talk'd of this Month but Wars; *neither hath* any thing *been done this Spring*; *and I believe every Body will agree with the* Doctor, *that it is very hard to discover when* Affairs will be determined.

APRIL.

" The Conjunction of the *Sun* and *Mars* signifies " that some *Man of Authority* will hold the *Ballance* " of Peace and War, and will be joined by *Jupiter*.

" I hope POPISH PRIESTS will have no Power over " us.

" There will be great *Murmurings* this Month.

" *Merchants* will be frighted with the Noise of " *War*; but there will be nothing of it but Noise.

Observations.

In the first Paragraph, the Doctor *observes that* some Man of Authority will hold the *Ballance* of Peace and War; *and, in the second,* hopes that POPISH PRIESTS will have no Power over us; *by which He seems to insinuate his Fears that a* POPISH PRIEST will hold the *Ballance* of *Peace* and *War*; *which God forbid!*

Nobody

Nobody can forget that there were great Murmurings *this Month, both within Doors and without; and that the* Merchants were frighted with the Noiſe of *War.*

MAY.

" There ſeems to be rough Work cut out for This " and ſome ſucceeding Months. Several Configura- " tions appear of *ill Conſequence* to the Countries " thereby ſignified; and tho' by the Interpoſition and " Mediation of *well-wiſhing Princes*, ſome Things " might be brought to *better Accommodation*, all " ſeems at preſent to be of *little Uſe*.

" There is no Medicine, that will cure all Diſtem- " pers.

" And *Plotting*, *Robbing* and *Thieving* cannot be " cured, but by thoſe Medicines, which the *Law* " hath preſcribed.

Obſervations.

The preſent Situation of Affairs *is too ſtrong a Proof of the Veracity of this Prediction; for though ſome* well-wiſhing Princes *have* interpoſed *and* mediated *with all their Intereſt, in order to bring Things to a* better Accommodation, *yet all ſeems to have been hitherto of but* little Uſe.

The Doctor *inſinuates* very ſtrongly, *in the two laſt Paragraphs, that ſome* notorious Thieves *and* Robbers (*who are the worſt* Kind of Plotters *againſt the State*) *call for the immediate Severity of the* Law.

JUNE.

" The Aſpects of the Planets, this Month, ſhew " prodigious Attempts both at Home and Abroad. " *Diſtempers*, *Diſorders* and *Diſſatisfaction* prevail a- " mong Mankind; but *Time* to *ſome*, and *Death* to " *others* will ſoon cure all thoſe Maladies.

" There is a quartile Aſpect between *Saturn* and " *Mars*, which betokens *no Good*; but *Saturn* is re- " trograde, therefore weak in the Houſe of *Jupiter*, " and *Jupiter* in the Houſe of the *Moon*.

" A GREAT LADY dies this Month.

Obſervations.

Observations.

What We have observed upon the preceding Months *(which are already elaps'd) is justified by Experience; but as we do not pretend to any Skill in the Science of* Astrology, *we must leave the* Doctor's *Predictions on* This *and the* following Months *without any Remarks.*

JULY.

" The *Congress of the Planets*, towards the latter " End of the last Month, will presently begin to shew " their Effects. *Mercury*, being in Conjunction with " the Sun in *Leo*, shews that some *great News* from " abroad may be expected; and that there are *some* " amongst us, at or near this Time, who seem wea- " ry with *fruitless Expectations*, and are obliged to sit " down under no small *Discontent*, and are obliged to " Time only for the Discovery of their *vain Attempts*.

AUGUST.

" There is not much to be said of the Effects the " celestial Bodies may produce this Month, but that " They incline rather to *Peace* than *War*. *Trade* be- " gins to lay aside its Fears, and the *Merchants* send " out the Product of our fruitful Soil, and the La- " bour of the Poor; and bring home, in Exchange, " Things only proper for pampering the *Rich*, and " to add to their *Luxury*.

" The old Story of *Plotting* is not intirely out of " Doors. Therefore take Care that They make no- " thing of it but *Words*.

SEPTEMBER.

" This Month seems to produce several very good " Signs for *old England*. She will continue to hold " the *Ballance* of *Trade*, of *Power*, and *Justice* and " *Equity* in her Hands.

" *Some Powers* grow jealous of one another, and it " is like even to come to That, They will trust one " another no farther than They are able to see them " distinctly. I shall not meddle to determine how " far this *Jealousy* may proceed; but Time, that is

" the Discoverer of all Events, will proclaim to the " Ears of the World—I wish it do not affect *Us*.

OCTOBER.

" The Death of some *old Statesmen, Officers*, or Per- " sons eminent in *dispensing the Laws of Nations*, seems " to prepare the Way for the Rising of *others*.

" The Affairs of this Month seem to concern *Spain* " in their military and martial Negotiations; *France* " in every Thing that relates to her Government and " Quiet. *Germany* is affected with some Dissensions, " either about settling their Government, or about " some Points of Religion.

" *London* is also disturbed with some Divisions. *Un-* " *easy, murmuring Spirits* are still trying their Tricks " to destroy their own Quiet.

NOVEMBER.

" The Aspects, this Month, threaten us with some- " thing from *abroad*; which is, in no Case, agree- " able to the *English Laws*, their *Liberties*, or *Religion*. " However, it seems only to be a Storm. It will " soon blow over, and the Sun then will cherish us " as before.

DECEMBER.

" This Year *ends*, as it *began*, only with the Noise " of *Peace* and *War* alternately, without *either* of them " being *certain*.

" There seems still to be some *Projects* and *Pro-* " *jections* on Foot; and These attended too with some- " thing of *Violence*; for the Rays and Aspects are ge- " nerally not only from *violent* Parts of Heaven, but " from *human Signs*.

" Also, here is *some cursed Piece of Roguery at the* " *Door*; but I judge, it will be discovered; and the " best way to prevent any more *Plots*, is to *hang* all " you catch, by what NAME or TITLE soever digni- " fied or distinguished."

I will make only a very short Remark or two on *those Predictions*, which are yet *unaccomplished*.

The

The *Doctor*, according to the usual Ambiguity of *Astrological Writers*, gives us Hopes, in his Remarks on some ensuing Months, that the cœlestial Bodies incline more to *Peace* than *War*; that *Trade* will revive, and *old England* will continue to hold the *Ballance* of *Europe* in her Hands. But I am afraid that these Predictions relate only to some *outward Appearances* or *Promises* of these good Things; because He closes his Remarks on this Year with the melancholy Prediction, *that it will* end *as it* begun, *only with the Noise of* Peace *and* War *alternately, without either of them being* certain.

He likewise prognosticates something *violent* at the latter End of this Year; and tells us, that a *cursed Piece of Roguery is at the Door*. Whatever it is, I am very glad to hear that it is likely to be *discovered*; and that it will break out so near the Meeting of *Parliament*; especially, since it is intimated that some Persons of *Dignity* and *Distinction* are concerned in it; and I entirely agree with the *Doctor*, that the *best Way to prevent any more such* Plots *and* Roguery, *is to* hang *all We catch*, let them be never so *great*.

I will conclude with praying, in the *Doctor*'s own Words, *that* old England's *Guardian Angel will protect Her against* Jesuits, Plots, Papists, Popes *and* Pretenders. *D.*

N° 153. SATURDAY, *June* 7, 1729.

THE Regard I have for a *certain Perſon*, to whoſe Uſe and Service many of my Lucubrations have been principally dedicated, had almoſt prevailed upon me never to have mentioned again the words, *Wolſey, Menzikoff, Mackheath, Catiline, Sejanus*, &c. *He* having taken a particular Fancy, from time to time, to declare that *He* was allegorically meant under all theſe Titles; but as the Favour I am to ask of the Publick this Day, in behalf of my *Nephew*, will oblige me often to uſe the Word *Sejanus*, I deſire *He* will be ſo good, this Time, as not to apply it to *Himſelf*; or imagine, when I talk of Mr. *Cibber* and his *Acting*, that I intend *Him* and *his Tranſactions*.

I take the Liberty therefore of recommending, in this Paper, my Brother's Son, *Theophilus D'Anvers*: He has lately given me an Occaſion of doing This, which I neither expected nor deſired. Some Years are now paſt, ſince I ſent him to the Univerſity of *Oxford*. I deſigned the young Man for the *Law*; but I find that there is ſomething in his Complexion, which oppoſes my Intentions. Indeed, he ſeems to me to have apply'd himſelf wholly to the Study of the *Belles Lettres*. He made me a Viſit the other Morning; and I perceived, by his Manner, that he had ſomething he was almoſt afraid to communicate; when, after he had ſat ſilent a few Minutes, he bluſhed, and pulled out of his Pocket a Manuſcript, which I found was intitled, *the Fall of SEJANUS*. He told me, he had ventured to alter, or rather to modernize the

the Language of this Piece, from our celebrated *Ben Johnson*. As I believe he chose this Subject in complaisance to his *Uncle*, I could not be displeased in my Heart. However, I advised him, whatever his success might be, to apply for the future to more useful Business; for Poetry, though it might be a genteel Amusement, was a very unprofitable Profession. I asked him for which House he designed his Play. He replied immediately, the *old one*; for he could not hope to be *fortunately prohibited*; and he assured me very warmly, that no Man alive could play the Character of *Sejanus* but Mr. *Cibber*.

I have, said I, young Kinsman, a great Regard for Mr. *Cibber*'s Performances as an *Actor*. In some Parts he does mighty well; as in the *Buffoon*, the *Coxcomb*, the *Pert*, the *Impudent*, the *Bamster*. He tops the Part of the *Sharper*. He is *felonious* within, or out of the reach of the *Law*, with a becoming and a natural Grace; and accordingly, he has generally the Applause of the House. I have heard, indeed, that he has sometimes *hired* Voices to applaud Him, and not improperly; since in that very Character he has put the † *Doctors* upon his Audience. The Part of *Brazen* seems likewise to be naturally design'd for Him; but in *Gibbet* he is all Perfection. He plunders with an Air adroit, genteel, and intrepid. There is a Gallantry and a Frankness in his Behaviour, even to the People, whom he injures. He persuades them that he hath a Right to rob them; and he takes upon him very pleasantly an *authoritative* and *decisive* Behaviour, as if what he did were perfectly agreeable to, and justifiable by the Laws of his Country; and tho' his *Gang* second him pretty well, he sustains manifestly the Character of their Chief; *supereminet omnes*. But give me leave to say, that he very seldom fills the Scene in the *serious Character*. We know his Purposes, before He speaks, by his Gesture, and his Voice.

† *A Sharper's Cant Word for* false *Dice*.

He is no *Politician*; not even in his *Looks*. He cannot disguise them. For Example, in *Syphax*, when he is tempting his Prince to Dishonour, he does it with *open* and *risible* Muscles, tho' his Master himself tells him that he observes his Looks are *fallen* and *overcast with Care and Discontent*. There is something in the Dignity of *Wolsey*, that he does not support. He submits indeed to the Passions of the *King* with becoming Servility; but he very faintly maintains his Character against the *great* and *honest Men*, who oppose him. In Cardinal *Beaufort*, he still wants Dignity; and we cannot believe so *profest a Knave*, even in outward Appearance, can have any weight with the *King* or his *Royal Consort*, or even the *lowest* of the *People*, against the Counsels of the most wise and upright Statesman, perhaps, that ever was; I mean the *good Duke of Glocester*. I grant you, *Nephew*, said I, that in this Character of *Sejanus*, Mr. *Cibber* will do better than in the rest; but you must take particular care, that he does not play his *Index expurgatorius* upon you, or your Author. He has, I must tell you, a very laudable hatred to the Writings of the *Antients*; and perhaps, as *old Ben* is by Time removed a little from us, he may look on him with an evil Eye. But to our Purpose—— Since the *young Man* has desired that I would recommend a Specimen of his Work; I think I cannot do it better than by giving the Publick the VIIth *Scene* of the *last Act*.

This Scene is in the *Senate House*. The Senate was conven'd by Letters from the *Emperor*, who was then retir'd to *Capreæ*, and it was purposely given out that the Business of their Meeting was to confer the *Tribunitial Power* upon *Sejanus* that Day, at the Instance of *Tiberius*, by his Letters, which were to be opened and read in full Senate——This *great Minister*, who some Time before seemed to be declining, was now once again rising to the Zenith of his Power; and

his

his Favourites, who were falling off apace like true Slaves, as ſoon as they thought that he was again in Favour, redoubled their Fawnings at their Maſter's Feet. This Scene is ſo natural, and the Characters are ſo well drawn, that I beg Leave to tranſcribe it wholly.———

The Names of the Senators, on the Side of *Sejanus*, are *Trio*, *Haterius*, *Sanquinius*, *Cotta*, *Regulus*, *Pomponius*, and *Latiaris*; and Thoſe, againſt *Sejanus*, are *Lepidus* and *Arruntius*.

Trio. *Sejanus* is a noble, bounteous Lord.
Hat. He is ſo; and moſt eloquent and wiſe.
Trio. This Dignity will make him worthy.
Pomp. ———Above *Cæſar*.
Hat. *Cæſar* is but the Rector of an *Iſle*.
He of the *Empire*.
Trio.——— He now will have the Power,
More to reward than ever.
Cotta. ——— Let us take Heed
We be not ſlack in giving him our Voices.
Lat. Not I,
Sanq. Nor I.
Cotta. ——— We'll hear no *prating Orator*.
The readier we ſeem to give him *Honours*,
We bind him ſtronger to us.
Hat.——— Right, my Lord.
It is the ſafeſt Way to hold our *Places*.
Sanq. Aye, and get more; more *Places* and more *Penſions*.
Pomp. I would not loſe the Share I hope to have
In his new Fortunes for my Patrimony.
Lat. See how *Arruntius* ſits, and *Lepidus!*
Ah! They'll repent their *ill-tim'd Oppoſition*.
Trio. Let them alone. They will be mark'd anon.
Sen. I'll do as others do.
Sen. And I——
Sen. And I——
Men grow not in the State, but as they are planted,

Warm in his Favours.

Hat. Honour'd *Sejanus!*

Cotta. Worthy and great *Sejanus!*

Arr. (*aside.*) Gods! how the Spunges open and
suck in,
And shut again—The cringing Slave is blest,
That gets a Seat in Eye-reach of him. He,
Who comes within his Ear, or Tongue, to claw
His Excellence, or fly-blow with his Breath
His itching Ear, is in Elysium, *Lepidus.*
Oh! the *Prætor* proclaims Silence;
Now we shall hear the Imperial Will.
Regulus opens the Commands of *Cæsar.*

Regulus. The Majesty of great *Tiberius Cæsar*
Propounds to this grave Senate the bestowing
Upon the Man he loves, honoured *Sejanus,*
The *Tribunitial Dignity* and Power.
Here are his *Letters,* sign'd with the Royal Signet.
What pleaseth now the Fathers to have done?

Senators.——Read them, read them publickly.

Hat. —— Worthy *Sejanus!*

Sanq. *Rome* could never boast.
Virtue like his. His Merit kills ev'n Envy.

Sen. Honour'd and noble.

Sen. Good and great *Sejanus.*

Arr. Tame, servile Spaniels, how they lick and
fawn!

Prætor.—— Silence.

Tiberius Cæsar to the Senate greeting.

(The *Imperial Letters* are read.)

" However remote our Person may be from the
" *Senate,* the Care of the Commonwealth is never
" absent from our Thoughts; tho' it oft'times hap-
" pens that the Knowledge even of their own Affairs
" is kept secret from Princes, when they are most
" present; than which nothing can fall out more
" miserable to the State, or can make the Art of go-
verning

" verning more difficult. But since we have the " Happiness to enjoy the Aid of so vigilant and in- " dustrious a Senate, we may be allow'd to indulge " our selves the more in Retirement, as we know the " Republick cannot suffer under their Administration. " Nor do the Rumours we have heard of many " *Libels*, published against our Retirement, at all dis- " turb us; they being more often the Children of *Ig-* " *norance*, than of *Malice*; and will, when they " are *neglected*, soon find their own Graves; where- " as should they be *sensibly acknowledged* or *felt*, " it would make their Obloquy, *ours*. Nor do we " desire that the *Authors* of them, when they are " discover'd, should be *censured*; since in a *free State*, " as ours is, all Men ought to enjoy both their *Minds* " and their *Tongues free*.

" Yet in Things, that more worthily and more nearly " concern our *Fame* and the Majesty of a *Prince*, we " should injure our Character to neglect them. It is " known unto you, *conscript Fathers*, that we have " raised *Sejanus*, from a *small* and not a *wealthy Fa-* " *mily*, to the most conspicuous Point of Greatness. " [*Senators. How, how!*] and, we hope, deservingly; " yet, not without *Danger*; it being a very *bold* and " *impolitick Hazard* in any Sovereign, who shall by " a particular Love to *one* of his Subjects, dare to ad- " venture the Hatred of them *all*.———Yet [*Trio—* " *Hah!*] *San.—This goes not so well.*]

" Yet such is the Confidence I have in your *Affec-* " *tions*, as well as your *Understandings*, I do not con- " ceive that the Favours I have heaped on *Sejanus* can " be offensive to any of You.

Senators. Good! Good!

" However, I could have wished his *Love of Money* and " that *unsatisfied Desire*, which he has shewn of *plunder-* " *ing the Publick* and heaping *Wealth* and *Honours* on " *Himself* and his *Family*, together with many other " Crimes imputed to him, had not run so intempe-

" rate:

" rate a Courſe. Some have told us that he has com-
" mitted theſe *Crimes*, under the Pretext of *Service*
" *to us*, though the ſtrength he has made uſe of, by
" his Faction, both in our *Court* and *Senate*, by the
" *Offices* that he holds *himſelf* and confers on *others*,
" with little Regard to *us* or *our Authority*, make him
" appear in the Eyes of ſome, and Thoſe, whoſe Com-
" plaints are ſaid to be worthy our Ear, to be greatly
" criminal—Your Wiſdom, *conſcript Fathers*, is able
" to examine and to cenſure theſe Suggeſtions; but
" were they left to our *abſolving Voice*, we muſt pro-
" nounce them, as we think them, *malicious*.

Senators. *Oh, all is right again now.*

" Yet are theſe *Accuſations* not only *averred*, but
" offered to be *proved*. Lords of the Senate! if This
" be true, we know not what we ſhould ſay; or ra-
" ther what we ſhould not ſay. This we muſt be
" aſſured of, This we muſt think, that we have
" *placed our Benefits ill*; and conclude that, in our
" Choice, either we were wanting to the Gods, or
" the Gods to us."

Lepidus to *Arruntius*.—How they neſtle? How they edge off from the falling Favourite? The Place grows hot. They ſhift.

" Moſt honourable Fathers, we have not been co-
" vetous of *Change*; neither do our Deſires now al-
" ter from any *old Loathings*, or *new Affections*; but
" from thoſe *needful Jealouſies of State*, that ought to
" warn *wiſe Princes* hourly to provide for their Safety;
" and, as they teach them to beware of the *humbleſt*
" *Enemy*, muſt admoniſh them in the warmeſt Man-
" ner to arm againſt thoſe *great Ones*, who are made
" formidable to their Maſter by the *Power* they re-
" ceived from him; whom their Prince's *Favours* have
" fitted for his *Fears*.

Sen. Away! *Sen*. Sit farther.

Arruntius. Gods! how the Leaves drop off? This little Wind has ſhook them from his Sides.—— Attend the *Prator*.

" We

" We therefore desire that the *Offices*, which he " holds, may be first seized by the *Senate*; and that " he may be immediately suspended from all Exer- " cise of *Place* or *Power*———

Reg. —— *Lords of the Senate, hold your Seats.*—— Read on.

" 'Till due and mature Trial be made of his In- " nocence; which we think will be a *Work of some* " *Difficulty*. However, *Fathers*, if there shall, to your " more searching Wisdom, appear farther Cause, so " as to think it proper to seize his *Lands*, his *Goods*, " or *more*——Our *Power* shall not limit your *Autho-* " *rity*, nor our *Favour* corrupt your *Justice*. Should " I do otherwise in this Case, I should dishonour you, " and not be just to my self. I need not to inform " this *judicious Senate* that they, who spare the *Guilty*, " hurt the *Innocent*; nor let them know that the most " grateful Sacrifice to the Gods is the Fall of an *am-* " *bitious*, and *rapacious Minister*."

After This, all the *little Parasites*, who were but now his *professed Creatures*, are loudest and most bitter in their City against him. — Then *Arruntius* makes this Reflection; and I think my *Nephew* has shewn his Judgment, by letting it stand in the very Words of the Original.

Who would depend upon the popular Air,
Or Voice of Men, that hath to Day beheld
(That, which, if all the Gods had fore declared,
Would scarce have been believ'd) *Sejanus' fall?*
He, that this Morn rose proudly as the SUN,
And breaking thro' a Mist of Clients Breath,
Came on, as gaz'd at, and admir'd as He,
When superstitious *Moors* salute his Light!
That had our *servile Nobles* waiting him,
As common Grooms, and hanging on his Look,
No less than human Life on Destiny!

That

That had Mens Knees as frequent as the Gods,
And Sacrifices more than *Rome* had Altars.

He concludes likewiſe, in the *Words of his Author*, thus.

——————Forbear, you *Things*,
That ſtand upon the Pinacles of State,
To boaſt your ſlippery Height. When you do fall,
You daſh yourſelves in Pieces, ne'er to riſe;
And he, that lends you Pity, is not wiſe. *R.*

N° 154. SATURDAY, *June* 14, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq;*

SIR,

WHILST a *wicked* and *corrupt Miniſter* is weighing out *Panegyricks* and *Dedications* againſt *juſt Satires* and *Invectives*; or, perhaps, is numbering his Creatures and teaching them their implicit *Monoſyllables*; whilſt he is drawing out his *Screen*, and providing for a *ſafe* and *decent Elopement*; or, it may be, comforts himſelf with the Hopes that the publick Joy, at his Removal, will drown all *future Enquiries*; or that he ſhall *keep ſweet* a good while longer, till the Worm ſeizes his Carcaſs, and Poſterity preys upon his Memory; it may not be improper to turn your Thoughts upon the Reverſe of his Character, and to enquire by what Marks a *good Miniſter* may be found out and diſtinguiſh'd; or, ſince he

he is only a *Creature*, by what Arts, and in what Method, he may be form'd and brought into Being. A People, who are running the Hazard of a *Death-Bed Repentance*, want nothing so much as a *good Minister*; and a *bad One* dreads nothing more than an *honest Successor*, who comes after him without treading in his Steps; takes his Place without giving into his Secrets; and will not be won by a Share of his Rapine to partake, at the same time, of his *Crimes* and *Corruptions*.

We know the mighty Hand, that is to form this Creature, and that the *Breath of our Nostrils* is to give him Being; but it is no Presumption, no Infringement of the Right of Election, to trace out a general Character of many just and worthy Candidates. It is no Nomination, no Designation to a particular Office, to describe a good Officer at large, with all his Qualifications and Endowments. Neither the *honest Labourer*, who discovers the Mine, or digs out the Ore; nor the *skilful Artificer*, who purifies, refines, and weighs it, can in any Sense be said to incroach upon the Authority of Those above him, who are appointed to make the last Essay; to shape and mould it; and all These are Friends to *Cæsar*, who finishes the Work, and gives it his own Image and Superscription.

Let us then imagine a Number of Men, scattered up and down a great, wise, and discerning Nation; in their Descent noble and generous; full of the Virtues of their Ancestors; in their Temper affable and sweet-natur'd; educated in the Knowledge and Study of our Constitution, its Laws, Settlements, Dependences and Interests; always faithful to the Crown, when consistent with their Duty to their Country; fonder of the Substance, than the Outside of Religion; easy in their Fortunes; Lovers of Mankind; more careful to preserve, than to aggrandize a Family; making Virtue the Foundation of their Friend-

Friendſhip, and Merit the Title to their Favour; Preſervers of the Freedom of others, as well as of their own; delighting rather to be thought good than great; pleaſed with any Opportunity of making their Fellow-Creatures happy; juſt in all their Dealings; moderate in their Pleaſures: true to the ſeveral Truſts, which have been repoſed in them; watchful over the Accounts of others, and ready to ſubmit their own to a full and impartial Inſpection; not ſervile when out of Power, nor imperious when in it; ſtudying more the Propriety of *Oratory*, than its Ornaments and Garniture; and ſpeaking rather to the good Senſe of others, than to their Paſſions or Intereſts; not ſolicitous for a *Place*, becauſe they want it, but becauſe the Place wants them; ſo keen in their Reſentments for the Publick, that they have no Room for Thoſe, which are perſonal; well acquainted with the moſt noted Characters and Tranſactions of late Years; indifferent in their Choice of public or private Life, but careful to adorn both; and looking on the Revenue of an Office to be ſo far public Money, as it is intended for the Support and Dignity of that Office, to which it is appropriated.——Men of this Character, Stars of this Luſtre, are ſtill ſtuck in good Plenty up and down our Hemiſphere. The Changes of the Weather may ſometimes hide, but cannot extinguiſh them. Their ſhort-liv'd Obſcurity is indeed their Advantage; for by This we know what it is to want them, and their Influence. Their Brightneſs is try'd, and diſtinguiſhed from *Meteors* and *falſe Fires*. The Regularity of their Courſes is more obſerved; and their Glory, when it breaks out again, becomes doubly recommended.

Imagine now a Man, of this Order and Character, advanc'd to the *Miniſtry*. Suppoſe him not well acquainted with the Courſe and Dependance of many of the *Offices* and Branches of Truſt under his Direction; and for that very Reaſon not over-forward to preſcribe

for *Abuſes*, or admit of *Corruptions* upon the Plea of *Cuſtom*; yet whilſt it is natural for him to find out, or to place in theſe Offices, ſuch Men as moſt nearly reſemble himſelf; he could never want good Intelligence both at home and abroad; clear and faithful Accounts. The *Eyes*, *Hands*, and *Feet*, which he borrow'd from others, would be ſo much like his own, that he could not fail to ſee clearly, act fairly, and walk uprightly. Such a *Miniſter* would with Pleaſure meet a *Senate*, choſen as himſelf was, by the ſame Marks and Qualifications. He would encourage ſuch a Choice as his beſt Security; and when the *boni & legales Viri de Vicineto* are return'd to *Parliament*, as well as upon *Juries*, the Electors do alike conſult their own Honour and Intereſt. A *triennial*, or *ſeptiennial Bribe*, as ill-ſpent as it is ill-gotten, makes no Amends for the Loſs of Credit and Reputation, which are the Support of Commerce; and it is as eaſy to prove, that the *Corruption* of ſome Boroughs is the Cauſe of their *Poverty*; as to prove, that their *Poverty* is the Cauſe of their *Corruption*. But to reſume my former Subject.——The *Marks* I have pointed out, and the Rules I have laid down, are of ſuch Uſe to the Publick, in the Choice of a *good Miniſter*, that where only *one* of them (the Character of *common Honeſty*) hath been attended to, and the reſt have been barely gueſs'd at, or left to wild Chance; ſuch a Choice has very often been more beneficial to a Country, than a Choice made upon the very Brink, or even from the Bottom of that horrible and dreadful Gulph, commonly call'd *profound Policy*—I ſhall illuſtrate this Truth by one remarkable Inſtance, which I hope is too remote and far-fetch'd, to be hawl'd and wrench'd into *modern Application*. The *Grand Seignior* is ſaid to walk abroad very often *incognito*, and to have his Out-lets and Conveniencies, both in the *Camp* and *Seraglio*, where he can overſee the Aſſemblies of his Domeſticks and Officers, and be his own *Spy* upon their Actions and

Converſation. Liſtening one Day to the *grand Maſter of his Kitchen*, in a full Aſſembly of his own *culinary Subalterns*, cloſely debating the preſent Juncture and Poſture of Affairs, (when Diſcontents ran high, and the general Voice laid the whole Blame upon the *Prime Vizier*,) He heard the *grand Maſter*, then in the Chair, ſometimes threatning Juſtice, and denouncing Vengeance; brandiſhing his *long Knife* at the Cloſe of every Period; ſometimes ſhaking his *Stew-Pan* with—*Oh! He could toſs up ſuch a Diſh of Politicks!*—And every Menace, every Period concluded with a Wiſh—*That he was Prime Vizier but for one Month only.*—The *Grand Seignior* took him at his Word; and, in a few Days, advanced him to that high Poſt next Himſelf. Where all are *Slaves*, this Advancement was by no means ſurprizing. 'Twas a meer deſpotick Humour and Frolick; and perhaps done with a deſign to puniſh his Vaſſal's Preſumption, by ſetting his *own Knife* to his Throat, upon the firſt falſe Step, or Miſmanagement in his Conduct. But the Man was honeſt, and the Maſter agreeably diſappointed. No *Miniſter* ever fill'd that Station, for many Years, with greater Honour and Reputation; or was better beloved both by *Prince* and *People*. He fed the *Empire*, as he had done the *Emperor*, with *good*, *wholeſome Diet*, *well cook'd* and *garniſh'd*. He ſtrew'd *Plenty* every where, and ſeemed, by his Conduct, to underſtand perfectly well that fine Maxim of *Cæſar*, which deſerves a whole *phyſical*, *moral*, and *political* Eſſay, fully to explain it—*Let me have Men about me that are* fat.

If Chance and Incident, or Caprice and Humour, can go thus far in the Choice of a *good Miniſter*, who at firſt ſetting out only ſtumbled upon *good Senſe*, and *common Honeſty*; what will not *good Senſe* and *common Honeſty* do, when join'd with thoſe other *noble Qualifications*, of which I have given a Detail, and when mark'd out and diſtinguiſh'd by a regular and judicious

judicious Choice? They have made the Reigns of *Minors*, and of Monarchs, never out of their *Minority*, glorious and flouriſhing. They have transformed *Queens* into *Amazons*, and confined the Faults of a ſoft and vicious Prince to a few Apartments; made them Darlings of their People, and their People happy under their Government. But where a Prince, truly wiſe and great, and good in himſelf, is ſurrounded by a Multitude of ſuch Counſellors; to how amazing an Heighth, and to how many Generations may he extend his Grandeur and the publick Felicity?—*Such Miniſters*, under a Monarch, the Father of his Country, will conſequently conſider all his Subjects *as Princes of the Blood*, (ſo a *merry Writer* of the laſt Age called them) or, in the inſpired, royal Style, as *Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone*; not in a *natural Senſe*; for *Adoption* is better than *Nature*. *Such Miniſters* will put out the *Revenues* of their Maſter to Intereſt in the *Pockets of his Subjects*; then, with a—*non rapui ſed recepi*, recall them upon a real Neceſſity. *Such Miniſters* will raiſe a *ſtanding Force*, ſo very numerous, that it ſhall take in *all the landed Gentry and trading Commons of a Nation*; and perhaps *5 d.* a Day is not ſo good Encouragement, as when Men fight for their *All*; for they fight for their *All*, when they fight for a *Prince*, with whom they have but one *common Safety* and *Intereſt*. *Such Miniſters* will not ſuffer the *Law* to be made the *Back-Sword* of Juſtice, which cuts only on *one Side*. They will not ſcore up a *War* to the Reckoning, when the *good Company have not had it in*; nor palm a *Truce* upon us, with all its Accidents, for the real Body of a *ſolid* and *laſting Peace*, by a new political *Tranſ*-or-*Conſubſtantiation*. In ſhort, they will not, like ſome old *Roman* Minions and Favourites, make a *Statue* of their Maſter, and then fly to it for *Refuge*.

O. *I am, SIR,* &c.

N° 155. SATURDAY, *June* 21, 1729.

OUR *maritime Force* is undoubtedly our chief Bulwark againſt *foreign Invaſions*, and what hath given us ſo great a Weight and Influence over our Neighbours. It is *This* only, which raiſed us from a little, deſpiſed, inhoſpitable People to a great, polite and formidable State. To *This* We are obliged for our *Trade*, our *Riches*, the Improvement of our *Land*, the Conſumption of our *Manufactures*, and the Poſſeſſion of all our valuable *Colonies* and *Plantations* abroad, as well as the Dominion and Sovereignty of thoſe *Seas*, which ſurround us at home.

It therefore behoves us, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, not to ſuffer the *Royal Navy of England* to be inſulted, trifled with, or brought under Contempt, by Friend or Foe, under any Pretence, or upon any Occaſion whatſoever. *National Honour*, once loſt or impaired, is, like the Honour of a *private Perſon*, very hard to be retrieved. Thoſe Nations, which have, for ſeveral Ages, ſtood in Awe of us, will begin to act the Part of *Bullies*, if we ever give them the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect that we are afraid of them. Moſt People are too apt, through Vanity and Self-Love, to conſtrue the Effects of *Lenity*, *Forbearance* and a *pacifick Diſpoſition*, as the Reſult of *Puſillanimity* and a ſudden Dread of *offending them!* which may produce another bad Conſequence, by depreſſing the Spirits of our *Sailors*, and erazing that laudable Partiality for the native Valour of their Country, which inclines them to believe that no Oppoſition, nor Inequality of Numbers is able to withſtand it.

But

But I hope there is no Occasion to insist, or enlarge upon this Subject; for though we have lately made use of *pacifick Measures*, and restrained our military Genius for a Time, under repeated Provocations; yet as we have been assured, by a very high Authority, that it was for the Advancement of a *general Tranquility*, the Preservation of *Trade*, and for divers other *wise*, *prudent* and *necessary* Ends, we ought not to look upon it as any, the least Diminution of the Honour of the *British Navy*.

But *Patientia læsa vertitur in Furorem*. If *fair Means* won't prevail, *foul ones* must. The proud *Spaniard*, who scorn'd to be soften'd, or diverted from his projected Designs, by all this mild and temperate Conduct, on our Parts, may soon find Reason to repent of his ill-judg'd Obstinacy and continued Insults. We have a * numerous and a gallant Squadron now ready to sail, under the Command of a brave and experienc'd Officer; who is armed, no Doubt, with sufficient Powers to chastise this haughty Nation and reduce them by Force to those honourable Terms, which *good Offices* and *Persuasion* have not been able to procure from them.

I shall therefore quit this Part of the Subject, with Relation to the *present Expedition*, which I hope will produce all the desired Effects, and fill up the Remainder of this Paper with some Thoughts on another Point of the utmost Importance to the Dignity of *Great Britain*; I mean the Honour of the FLAG, to which we have claimed a Right, from Time immemorial, by virtue of our antient Sovereignty of the *narrow Seas*, and have obliged the Ships of all other Nations to *strike* to us upon those Seas, in Acknowledgment of this Dominion.

I think it proper, in the first Place, to lay before the Reader the *Instructions*, which (as I am informed)

* *At* Spithead.

are given to all the *Captains* and *Lieutenants* of our Men of War, to this Effect.

Inſtructions to the Captain.

——— " Upon your meeting with any Ship, or " Ships, within his Majeſty's Seas, (which, for your " better Guidance herein, you are to take Notice ex- " tend to *Cape Fineſterre*) belonging to any foreign " Prince or State, you are to expect that, in their " Paſſage by you, They *ſtrike their Topſail* and *take* " *in their Flag*, in Acknowledgment of his Majeſty's " Sovereignty in thoſe Seas; and if any ſhall refuſe " to do it, or offer to reſiſt, you are to uſe your ut- " moſt Endeavours to *compel* them thereunto, and in " no wiſe to ſuffer any Diſhonour to be done to his " Majeſty.

Inſtructions to the Lieutenant.

" You are to take upon your ſelf the intire Charge " and Conduct of his Majeſty's ſaid Ship, *and ſtand* " *accountable for the well executing the whole Duty of* " *Commander thereof*, during the *Abſence*, or in Caſe " of the *Death* of your ſaid Commander, with Re- " ſpect as well to the printed, general Inſtructions " given to Commanders (a Copy whereof is hereun- " to annexed) as any other particular Orders of his " Majeſty, *&c.*"

I ſhall now give an Inſtance or two of the Strict- neſs, with which theſe Orders have been executed in former Reigns, and begin no higher than That of King *James* the *firſt*; who, though perhaps the moſt *inactive Monarch*, that ever ſate upon the *Britiſh* Throne, protected one of the Officers of his Navy, (who had obliged a *French* Ship to ſtrike to him, under very particular Circumſtances) againſt the ſtrong- eſt Repreſentations of that Court, and even refus'd to make them any Satisfaction Himſelf, as appears from Cardinal *Richlieu's Teſtament Politique*, in that Chap- ter

ter treating of the Neceſſity, which *France* is under to be powerful at Sea. The *Cardinal* addreſſes Himſelf to *Lewis* the 13th in the following Terms, *viz.*

—— " *England*, being ſituated as it is, if *France* " was not ſtrong in its *Fleets*, might undertake what- " ever ſhe thought proper to the Prejudice of *France*, " without apprehending any Return to her Diſadvan- " tage. She might deſtroy our *Fiſheries*; diſturb our " *Commerce*; and, by blocking up our greateſt Rivers, " oblige our Merchants to pay her what Tribute ſhe " ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them——She might " unmoleſted make Deſcents on our *Iſlands*, and even " on our Continent—— In a Word, the Situation of " the native Country of that proud Nation is ſuch, " that they have no Reaſon to fear the *greateſt Pow-* " *ers* of the Earth; and the antient Hatred They bear " this Kingdom, might probably make them under- " take any Thing againſt us, ſhould there ever come " a Time, that we ſhould be ſo weak as not to have " it in our Power to act offenſively againſt Them.

" The Inſolence, which the *Engliſh* were guilty of " towards the Duke *de Sully*, in the Reign of the King " your Father, ought to oblige us to put our ſelves " in ſuch a Poſture, as not to ſuffer ſuch an Affront " another Time.

" *That Duke* being appointed by *Henry the great* " Ambaſſador extraordinary to the Court of *England*, " and having embarked at *Calais* on Board a *French* " Ship, carrying the *Flag of France* upon her main " Topmaſt-Head, was no ſooner got into the *Chan-* " *nel*, but being met by an *Engliſh Yatch*, that was " ſent to receive Him, the Captain of the *Yatch* com- " manded the *French* Ship to *ſtrike*.

" The *Duke*, thinking his Quality of *Ambaſſador* " ſufficient to protect Him from ſuch an Affront, " manfully refuſed to *ſtrike*; but this Refuſal being " anſwer'd by three Cannon-Shot from the *Engliſh* " *Yatch*, which pierced his Ship, and, at the ſame

" Time,

" Time, pierced the Hearts of all good *Frenchmen*, " Force obliged Him to do That, which Reaſon " ought to have defended Him againſt; and to all " the Complaints he made, he could receive no other " Satisfaction, nor Anſwer from the *Engliſh* Captain " but This, that as his Duty obliged him to honour " him as an Ambaſſador, it obliged him alſo to ſee " the Honour done to his *Maſter's Flag*, that was due " to the Sovereign of the Seas———And tho' King " *JAMES* expreſs'd himſelf upon this Affair in *ci-* " *vil Terms*, his Words had no other Effect than to " oblige the *Duke* to find his only Satisfaction in his " own Prudence, by feigning himſelf to be cured, at " the ſame Time that he felt the greateſt Smart, and " that his Wound was not to be healed.

" The *King*, your Father, was obliged to diſſem- " ble upon this Occaſion; but with a Reſolution, up- " on ſome other Opportunity, to ſupport the Honour " of his Crown by the *naval Force*, which Time " ſhould make him Maſter of.

" I repreſent to my ſelf this great Prince, upon " that Occaſion, laying the *Scheme*, which your Ma- " jeſty ought now to put in Execution."

The War between the *Parliament* of *England* and the *States of Holland*, in the Year 1652, (the ſharpeſt *Sea-War*, that was ever known between any two Nations) was occaſioned by this Punctilio of the Honour of the FLAG, which the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Trump* refus'd to pay to our Admiral, the immortal *BLAKE*.

In the Reign of King *Charles* the *ſecond*, another bloody Sea-War was commenc'd between *England* and *Holland* on the ſame Account, with this very particular Circumſtance, that the Captain of a *ſingle Yatch*, ſent over to *Holland* to bring home Sir *William Temple*'s Lady, was order'd to demand this Acknowledgment from the *whole Dutch Fleet*. I confeſs, the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, at that Time, did This, in order to pick a Quarrel with *Holland*; but I mention it, only

to

to ſhew the Obligation, which Officers of the *Navy* are under to perform their Duty; for whatever the Intention of theſe Orders might be, the *Captain* was undoubtedly obliged to execute them, under Pain of being diſmiſs'd the Service, with *Infamy*, at leaſt.

The late King *William*, of immortal Memory, had the ſame Regard for this Right of the Honour of the FLAG, and made it one of his Reaſons for declaring War againſt the late *French* King, as appears from the following Article of the *Declaration* it ſelf.

" The Right of the FLAG, inherent in the Crown " of *England*, hath been diſputed by *his* (the King " of *France*'s) Orders, in Violation of our Sovereign- " ty of the narrow Seas, which in all Ages hath been " aſſerted by our Predeceſſors; and We are reſolv'd " to maintain the Honour of our Crown and of the " *Engliſh* Nation."

I ſhall conclude theſe Inſtances with a Paſſage out of Sir *John Borough*'s Treatiſe upon this Subject.

" The *Sovereignty of our Seas* (*ſays He*) being the " moſt precious Jewel of his Majeſty's Crown and, " next under God, the principal Means of our Wealth " and Safety, all true *Engliſh* Hearts and Hands are " bound, by all poſſible Means and Diligence, to pre- " ſerve and maintain the ſame, even with the utter- " moſt Hazard of their *Lives*, their *Goods* and *Fortunes*."

My Deſign, in dwelling ſo long on this Head, is to evince the Folly and Abſurdity of a current Story about Town, that the LIEUTENANT of an *Engliſh Man of War* hath been lately diſcharged for obliging a *French* Ship to *ſtrike* to Him, purſuant to his *Inſtructions*, even in the Mouth of one of our *own Harbours*.

D. C.

N° 156. SATURDAY, *June* 28, 1729.

I Have not, for ſome Time, taken any Notice of my *Brother Journaliſts*, who have endeavoured, for ſeveral Weeks paſt, by *perſonal Scurrilities* and *invidious Comments*, to extort a Reply from me.

But the Author of the *Britiſh Journal* obliged us (on *Saturday*, *June* the 7th) with ſuch extraordinary Remarks *on the laſt Seſſion of the* Britiſh *Parliament*, that I cannot, in Juſtice to *ſeveral Gentlemen*, let them paſs without ſome Animadverſion.

I agree intirely with *this Writer*, that the Cuſtom of acquainting the Publick, upon the *Diſſolution* or *Receſs* of Parliament, *what Care hath been taken of their Intereſts, is a Liberty, which all Parties have practiſed, though to* different Purpoſes, and *ſeems highly beneficial to the People, who ought to be informed how ſo great a Truſt hath been diſcharged.* I preſume therefore that I have the ſame Right with Him, or any other *Engliſhman*, to exerciſe this *Liberty*; which I promiſe to do with more *Impartiality* and Regard to *Truth* than He hath done.

I am ready to allow that *this Seſſion* hath produced ſeveral *excellent Laws, Reſolutions* and *Propoſals*; but as we are unhappily divided into different Parties, who mutually endeavour to have it believ'd, whilſt they oppoſe one another, that the Good of their Country is the ſole Motive of their Proceedings; it ſeems neceſſary, for our better Judgment, to diſtinguiſh

guiſh between them, and point out to the World what are properly the *Acts* of each Party.

For this Reaſon, I could wiſh that it was the Cuſtom to publiſh not only *thoſe Bills* and *Reſolutions*, which are paſſed by a Majority of Votes; but likewiſe all *Propoſals*, which are made in the *Houſe*, with a particular Liſt of the Names of all ſuch Members, as voted on *either Side*. This would certainly be a great Help to us in forming a true Judgment on the Conduct of *oppoſite Parties*; and could not, I think, be diſagreeable to *either Side*; ſince it is to be preſumed that no Perſon, who hath the Honour to ſit in that auguſt Aſſembly, gives his Vote for, or againſt any Bill without *ſome Reaſon*, which He is not aſhamed to own and juſtify.

But though This is not the Practice at preſent, I ſhall take the ſame *Liberty* (which Mr. *Manley* and *all Parties have practis'd*) of reviewing the Proceedings of the *laſt Seſſion*, and doing Juſtice to *both Parties*; by aſcribing to *each* the Honour of *thoſe Acts*, which properly belong to them; whereas Mr. *Manley* ſeems very modeſtly and complaiſantly to give the whole Merit of every *popular Tranſaction* this Seſſion to a *particular Set of Men*, who will appear perhaps, upon Examination, to have the leaſt Right to it.

He obſerves very juſtly, "that our Members came "up from their ſeveral Countries, poſſeſſed with the "common Expectation of the Kingdom to know the "*Progreſs of our late Negociations*, and the *Proſpect* "*we had of a Peace*; what Relief could be had for "our *much injured trading Intereſt*; and what Remedy "could be applyed to the *melancholy Troubles of* Eu-"rope." But He is not ſo kind as to inform us how theſe *Expectations* were anſwer'd; or what Satisfaction was given to our *Repreſentatives* upon any one of theſe Articles; ſo that, for any Thing which appears in this notable Eſſay, they might return into their ſeveral Countries, as wiſe as they came up, and under

the ſame *Doubts* and *Uncertainties*, with Relation to publick Affairs.

He tells us, indeed, that the Project of a *proviſional Treaty* was laid before them, which He is pleaſed to call a *Compact*; though I always apprehended that a *Compact* neceſſarily included in it the Conſent of *both Parties*; whereas I never heard it ſo much as pretended that the Allies of *Vienna* ſhew'd the leaſt Inclination to accept of *this Project*, either at that Time or ſince; and therefore it is ſomewhat difficult to conceive how this *proviſional Treaty*, as it is called, could be eſteem'd *a juſt and ſolid Baſis for a laſting, ſafe, and honourable Peace.*

I ſhall not enter into any Diſquiſition on the Nature of *this Project*, which I conſider'd at large, in an *extraordinary Paper*, at the Beginning of the Seſſion, in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *Obſervations on the Conduct of* Great Britain, *&c.*—— Whatever it is, let the ſole Merit of it be engroſſed by *thoſe Perſons*, to whom Mr. *Manley* ſo juſtly aſcribes it.

Only give me Leave to take Notice of what He is pleaſed to aſſert, with Regard to *Gibraltar*, *that our Repreſentatives were of Opinion that it would be ſecure on the Foot of* former Treaties, *without any* explicit *and* ſpecial *Renunciation*. Some of our Repreſentatives, it is true, were of this Opinion; but others (the *Minority* indeed) thought, that as the King of *Spain* had trumpt up a Claim, on a *pretended Promiſe of Reſtitution* from the late King, it was neceſſary, in order to prevent all future Cavillings and Demands on this Account, to inſiſt on a *formal Ceſſion* of it in a publick Treaty; and a Motion was made accordingly by ſome *honourable Members*, though without Effect.

He tells us likewiſe, that the *Proviſion for our ſuffering Merchants had the ſpecial Approbation of our Members*; *and it was*, it ſeems, *with inexpreſſible Pleaſure and Satisfaction that He obſerved* contending Parties, *who diſagreed in moſt Things, were* unanimous *in This*; *and*

and that the only Struggle seem'd to be, who should have the Glory of doing Justice to the Merchants. I heartily wish that the *Merchants* may have Justice done them, and receive full Reparation for all their Losses; which I doubt not his Majesty, in pursuance of his royal Engagement, will use his utmost Endeavours to procure; but to *whom* the Glory of this Affair chiefly, if not solely, belongs, I leave the *Merchants* themselves to determine.

Mr. *Manley* is so good as to allow, that the Enquiry into *what Care had been taken for the Guard of the Seas; what Measures employ'd to distress the* Spanish *Projects and what* Instructions *given to our Admirals in the* West-Indies, was a *most laudable Enquiry*; and yet, with the same Breath, calls it an *invidious* and *ill-natur'd Part* in those Persons, who promoted *this Enquiry*; upon which, He tells us, it appear'd that *whereas it had been commonly asserted* four thousand Sailors *died in those Squadrons, not half the Number was really true——That the Seas were as well guarded as ever was known——And that, upon the whole Enquiry, our Representatives adjudged these Measures* prudent, just, *and* necessary.

That not *two thousand Sailors* died on board our Squadrons in the *West-Indies*, is, I maintain, absolutely false; and if the *Seas were as well guarded as ever was known*, it seems somewhat strange that so many of our Ships should be almost daily taken. I confess *these Measures* were voted, by the Majority, *prudent, just* and *necessary*; but it is well known that many Gentlemen were of another Opinion, and a Motion was made, in the *House of Lords*,

That the Expence of the Squadron sent to the West-Indies, *under the Command of Vice-Admiral* Hosier, *having been borne by this* Nation alone, *tho' designed to prevent the* Spaniards *from seizing the Effects belonging to his Majesty's* Allies, *as well as his* Subjects, *which were on board the* Flota *and* Galleons, *and from*

applying the Treasure to disturb the Peace and invade the Liberties of Europe, *has been an* unreasonable Burthen *upon this Kingdom.*——

——*Vide* the PROTESTS of the Lords, upon this Head.

Amongst the beneficent Acts of this Session, Mr. *Manley* thinks himself obliged to mention the Sum of *sixty five thousand Pounds*, (though, in the *Votes*, it appears to be only *sixty*) *expended the last Year for Services of great Importance, which are absolutely necessary to be kept SECRET*; upon which however he makes the following just Observations, to which I readily subscribe. *I cannot but say our Affairs are much to be* lamented, *when their unhappy Situation shall oblige our Parliaments to acquiesce in such* general Expences; *but I hope They will* mend. *I trust We shall soon see* better Times.——*It may be presum'd, We shall not have many more* like Articles; *and the common Interest will be so well preserv'd on the* antient Establishment, *that We shall no longer raise Sums without* Appropriation, *or expend them without* Account.

The Enquiry into the State of our Prisons, and the vigorous Proceedings in Behalf of the *poor oppressed Debtors*, was truly publick-spirited and worthy the Care of a *British* Parliament; but it is so well known to *whom* the Success and Credit of *that Enquiry* was intirely owing, that, I think, Mr. *Manley* ought, in common Modesty, to have left it out of *his List*; as well as the immortal Bill to prevent *Bribery* and *Corruption*; which cannot certainly be imputed to *Those*, who *oppos'd* it by *Speaking*, *Voting* and *Solliciting* with all their Strength.

Mr. *Manley* was so well aware of This, that, in the Paper immediately preceding, He endeavour'd openly to justify *Corruption*, and to ridicule the *Bill*, which hath so effectually, I hope, apply'd a Remedy to it.

For

For the Entertainment of the Reader, I will put his *inconsistent Sentiments of this Bill* in a proper Light.

In his Paper, of *Saturday May* 31, which is a continued Essay in Defence of *Bribery* and *Corruption*, He hath these remarkable Paragraphs, *viz.*

" As much as I wish the Grievance were remedied, " and unwilling as I am to disturb *their golden Dream*, " who hope for this happy Consequence from a late " Act to *prevent Bribery and Corruption*; yet I can- " not but observe that this Law, which punishes " this Evil in its first Source, leaves Men to their own " Ways afterwards. It punishes the *Electors*, who are " corrupted, or the *Candidate*, who corrupts them, " but lays no Restraint on the *elected Person*; so that " it seems calculated (at least, it hath a Tendency) to " confine all Bounties to the *Parties chosen*; which " yields a comfortable Prospect to *Those*, who would " turn the Tables, and come into Play, as They hope " to *engross Corruption*, and make it their *own absolute* " *Property*.

" Thus Gentlemen may be elected without any " Expence or Trouble, other than *mobbing* and *Speeches* " and *strong Beer*; so that when They come up to " *Westminster*, all They get there will be *clear Gains*."

In this insolent Manner did our Author treat one of the best *Bills*, that was ever past, (as well as the *Parliament*, which past it) on *Saturday May* 31; yet, in his very next Paper, He changes his Note, and makes a most wretched Compliment to his *Patrons* (who exerted their utmost Endeavours to *throw out the Bill*) as the sole *Authors* and *Promoters* of it—— Observe his Words, and how They agree with his *former* Paper!

" *Illustrious Patriots!* —— Who fear'd not to rise " with Spirit, and apply'd a *sovereign Remedy* against " that *most devouring Pestilence*, CORRUPTION."

But though Mr. *Manley* hath given the Credit of *ſome Things* to his *Patrons*, which does not belong to them, He hath forgot to take any Notice of others, which I believe no Body will diſpute with them; ſuch as the *Land-Tax* Bill; the Subſidies to the Prince of *Heſſe*, the King of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*; and eſpecially that ever-memorable Grant of 115,000l. to make good the *Arrears of his Majeſty's civil Liſt*, which is ſtated very clearly in a *Pamphlet*, lately publiſhed on that Subject.

Mr. *Manley* confeſſes, that He hath raiſed his Strain to *Panegyrick*, but promiſes Himſelf to be acquitted of *ſordid Flattery*; which I hope all impartial Men will readily do, who read the following Paragraph. *Happy Nation! who have no* rapacious Miniſters, *fond of Wars to exhauſt the Publick*; *and who, as They abhor* voracious Rapine, *ſo They ſhun the faireſt Opportunity of drawing* moſt immenſe Sums *out of the Blood and Bowels of their Countrymen!*

He calls upon me, in a *Poſtſcript*, to apply a *Propoſal*, which I formerly made, to the preſent Occaſion. The *Propoſal* was that, in Imitation of a Cuſtom amongſt the *Romans*, every *Law* ſhould bear the *Name* of the Man, who was the *firſt Adviſer* and *Promoter* of it. Perhaps, it may not be abſolutely ſafe to accept of his Challenge; but I will venture to comply ſo far, as to ſet ſome of the moſt remarkable *Acts*, *Reſolutions*, *Motions* and *Propoſals* of this Seſſion in *oppoſite Columns*.

An ACT for granting to his Majeſty an Aid of *three Shillings* in the Pound upon LAND.

A Reſolution to grant to his Majeſty, the Sum of 784,983 *l.* 12 *s.* 01 *d.* ½ for

Several Reſolutions in Behalf of our *Merchants*, who have been Sufferers by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*.

An ACT for diſabling Mr. *Bambridge*, and ſeveral Reſolutions upon the Ex-

for maintaining *twenty two thousand, nine hundred and fifty five* effective Men for the *Land* Service of *Great Britain.*

A Resolution to grant to his Majesty the Sum of 241,259 *l.* 01 *s.* 03 *d.* for defraying the Expence of *twelve thousand Hessian* Troops for the Year 1729.

A Resolution to grant to his Majesty the Sum of *fifty thousand Pounds* for one Year's Subsidy to the King of *Sweden.*

A Resolution to grant to his Majesty *twenty five thousand* Pounds for one Year's Subsidy to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle.*

Enquiry into the State of our Gaols.

A Motion to oblige the King of *Spain* to make a *formal* and *specifical* Renunciation of all Claims and Pretensions whatsoever to the Fortress of GIBRALTAR and the Island of *Minorca; which passed in the* Negative.

A Proposal to take off the burthensome Duties upon *Soap* and *Candles,* for the Relief of the *Poor,* and the Encouragement of our *Manufactures; which passed in the* Negative.—I mention This, because though it was not agreed to the *last Session,* it may probably occasion something of this Nature to be done *hereafter.*

An Address to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct the proper Officers to lay before the House, a particular and distinct Account of the Sum of *sixty thousand Pounds,* which (in an Account laid before the House, shewing how the Money given, for

An ACT to make good a certain Deficiency, by a late famous *Robbery of the Exchequer*, out of the SINKING FUND.

A Grant to his Majesty of the Sum of 115,000 *l.* to make good the *Arrears* of the Service of the Year 1728, hath been disposed of) was charged to have been issued on Account of *secret Services*; *which* —— *Vide the* Votes.

A Motion that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to desire that the House might be informed what Demands were made, in behalf of the Crown of *Great Britain*, to his Majesty's Allies for Succours of Troops, Ships or Money, which they were obliged to furnish, in pursuance of Treaties, during the late Hostilities, and the Siege of *Gibraltar*; and in what manner the said Demands were comply'd with; or whether any Measures were settled and concerted between the Crown of *Great Britain* and her Allies, in order to carry on a general and vigorous War, in Case the Project of *preliminary Articles* of Peace, under Consideration during the Siege of *Gibraltar*, had not been accepted; *which passed in the* Negative.

A Motion that the Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company do lay before the

of his Majesty's *civil List.*

the House an Account of the Demands, with the Value or Estimate thereof, which the Company hath, since the Year 1717, had upon the *Spaniards*, for Seizures made by them of Ships or other Effects of the said Company, together with an Account of what Satisfaction hath been made to the Company for the said Losses, and how much of the same still remains unsatisfied; *which pass'd in the* Negative.

An ACT to prevent BRIBERY and CORRUPTION in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament; *which was* providentially *carried in the* Affirmative *by* those Gentlemen, *who have commonly the Misfortune to be the* MINORITY.

D.

N° 157. SATURDAY, *July* 5. 1729.

DURING the present uncertainty of *public Affairs*, which reduces the common News-writers to daily Contradictions of one another and Themselves, I chuse to entertain my Readers with a very unfortunate Case in *private Life*; which may be of Service to many of them.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

The Case of JACK TEAZLE *the* West-Country Clothier.

THE Family of the TEAZLES hath flourished in the *West* for more than two Centuries. They were always look'd upon to be plain and substantial Men; and their Wealth, as it was gained by honest Industry, seemed to wear well. It descended from Father to Son, with Increase; and *William Teazle* the great Ancestor of *Jack* (of whom I have heard the Family often boast) humbly begg'd to be excused the Honour of *Knighthood* from Queen *Elizabeth*, who would have changed his Name to *Staple*; but he said and proved by his Conduct, that *He had rather deserve Honours than wear them*; and look'd upon *Dignity* without *Merit* not only to be burthensome, but disgraceful. That wise Princess had a very great Regard for Mr. *Teazle*. She encouraged, assisted, and rewarded

rewarded him; and always uſed to ſay ſhe look'd upon him as the moſt uſeful, and the moſt profitable, Member in the Society. Accordingly, ſhe would always engage on his Side in any Contracts, which he had made with *foreign Merchants*, and ſee immediate Right done to him—I have heard that ſhe has call'd him, before her Courtiers, *the Pillar of the State*. The Family of the *Teazles* hath lived ſeveral Ages ſince with good Reputation. They have kept up (till very lately) to the Lengths, the Fineneſs, and the Thickneſs of their Cloths; and I have heard that their *Bales* have been bought without *View* or *Meaſuring*, on the ſight of their *Marks* only, in foreign Countries. But for ſome Years paſt, *Jack*'s Family, beginning to grow a little polite and extravagant, fell into the Luxury of their Neighbours; and it was obſerved their Credit grew leſs; as there were ſometimes found to be Errors in the Lengths and Goodneſs of their *Cloths*. However, they kept up ſtill a tolerable Reputation and a good Trade, and were reſpected abroad and valued at home. A great Eſtate deſcended to *Jack Teazle*, our *Weſt-Country Clothier*, whoſe Caſe I lay before you. *Jack* was a very honeſt Man; and was reſolved, notwithſtanding his Subſtance, not to neglect his Buſineſs; and, as his Father had done, and was neceſſary for him, he apply'd to the *Merchant* (who happened to be his Neighbour and Lord of the Mannor likewiſe) to aſſiſt him in his Buſineſs; to take off his Cloths, and to protect him in his Trade. But the *Merchant*, happening at this Time to have much Buſineſs of another Sort upon his Hands, réferr'd Mr. *Teazle* and his Affairs to *Bob Booty*, his Factor; a very prating buſy Fellow, who had been bred an *Attorney*, and who not only knew very little of his own Profeſſion, but was utterly ignorant of every Thing relating to *Trade*. His Character had always been a little tainted; but, for ſome Years paſt, he was quite blown, and every one in the County,

County, except the *Merchant* and his *Lady*, were perfectly acquainted with him, and refused to give him any Credit. However, Mr. *Teazle*, rather than disoblige his *Merchant*, suffered him to be employ'd in his Affairs. *Robin* had not taken upon Him the Management of his Business for more than *two* or *three Years*, when every Thing was in confusion. He quarrell'd with the *Merchants* of every Country, with whom He used to deal.

The first Man, with whom he broke, and for little or no Reason, was a very eminent *German Merchant*, an antient Friend to the *Teazle* Family; and one, who had not only dealt for considerable Quantities of his Goods from Time to Time, but on all Occasions, when there was any Dispute with the neighbouring Merchants, espoused his Quarrels; and hath often relieved them out of Scrapes, into which their *ill Conduct*, or *Misfortunes* had led them; but Factor *Bob*, regardless of all This, swore at him; bully'd him; call'd him Names; and had very like to have occasioned an open Breach.

The next Gentleman, whom *Bob* took it into his Head to disoblige, was *Don Pedro de Capet*, a *Spanish* Merchant; a *Frenchman*, I think, by Birth; a very good Sort of Man, but a little weak; and it appear'd in nothing more so, than that he was absolutely governed by his *Wife*; who, they say, was a very meddling, busy Woman. However, he had been a great Dealer with Mr. *Teazle*, and a considerable Part of Mr. *Teazle*'s Estate had been gain'd from that House; for the *Spaniard* paid ready Money for every Pennyworth of Goods. But so it was, that our *litigious Factor* fell out with *Him* likewise; swore he would receive no more of his *Money*; nor send him so much as one Yard of *Bays*. He carry'd the Thing still farther, and persuaded *Jack* (who was a very brave Man) that the *Spanish* Merchant had injured, affronted, and abused him; and that it became him in Honour

to

to demand Satisfaction. *Jack*, who has warm Blood in him, was immediately ſtirr'd. He put on his long Sword and his Pumps, and marched with many of his Friends to *Don Pedro's Country Houſe*, ſituate many Miles off, in a *marſhy Bog*. When he came there, he called often and aloud upon him to come abroad. He told him that he came as a *Friend* only, and to PERSUADE Him, by gentle Means, to put his Effects in his Hands; but the wary *Spaniard* lay cloſe within Doors, and replied, that he very much ſuſpected he came to *break open his Houſe and ſteal his Plate*. *Jack* and his Friends however ſtaid there, till they had got confounded *Agues*, which killed ſeveral of them, and had like to have put an End to *John* himſelf; and every Body ſaid that it was more owing to the Strength of his *Conſtitution*, than his *Prudence*, that he eſcaped with his Life. However, He made a mighty ſilly Figure upon his Return; and *Bob*, who was very uneaſy Himſelf for adviſing that Project, could not help ſneering at him; but now *Jack*, upon inquiring into his Affairs, found them in a very melancholy Situation. He had ſpent moſt of his *ready Money*. He had a great deal of *Wool* by him; but had none or very poor Markets for it. He had neither Money nor Buſineſs for the honeſt *Manufacturers*, whom he uſed to employ. He was adviſed however once more to apply to *Bob Booty*; who laughed very heartily when he heard his *Complaint*, and aſſured him that he was the moſt miſtaken Man alive; for that, to his Knowledge, he was a very *rich Man*; that his *Trade flouriſh'd exceedingly*; and that he did not know ſo *happy a Creature in the World as himſelf*. But, ſays he, Mr. *Teazle*, if you have really ſuſtained *any Loſſes*; if they are not altogether *imaginary*; if you have been *robbed*; I will *do my beſt*, and I do not know but *one time or other*, I may diſcover the *Thieves*——— However, as to the *Affronts* you have received, I have hit upon a Method that, I think, will do. You know

old *Father Frippon*, the *Frenchman*. He is a very honeſt, and a wiſe Man. I have put your Affairs into his Hands, and I warrant you he will ſet us to rights very ſoon. I think, I never did ſee my Friend *Jack* in ſo great a Paſſion in my Life, as he was upon this Occaſion. What, cry'd he, You ſhameleſs Knave! What! put my Affairs into the Hands of my *profeſs'd, known Enemy*, who has had an *antient Quarrel* to my Family; one, who never ought to be truſted; one, who never ſpoke a Word of *Truth* in his whole Life; and is ſo cunning, that he would outwit the Devil! Don't you know that I am a *Proteſtant* and an *Engliſhman*, Sirrah? Give me my Sword and my Piſtols; I will go in *Perſon*; I will *fight*; I will have *Satisfaction* for the Injuries I have received.——*Bob*, who found that the honeſt Clothier was warm, and in Earneſt, gave him a little Time to cool.——My good Friend, ſaid he, *if it muſt come to fighting at laſt, it muſt*; but I am of a *peaceable Diſpoſition*; *I hate Bloodſhed*; you are *ſo hot*. Why, I have ſent my Brother *Ballance* to make up this Matter. You know He is very *polite*, and hath a great deal of *Wit*. Father *Frippon* has a great Value for him.—— But, ſaid he, the *good Father* is a Lover of *Money*. I know how to work him out of any Thing by *Money*. No Body knows the Power of *Money* ſo well as I do. I have done Wonders with *Money*———In a Word, he bubbled Mr. *Teazle*, from Time to Time, out of large Sums to bribe this *Prieſt*; and kept him likewiſe moſt provokingly in Suſpence.

Bob always aſſured him confidently, tho' he knew the contrary, that his Affairs were in a fair Way of being made eaſy; that all his Loſſes ſhould ſoon be made good, and his Trade reſettled; and all this time the honeſt *Clothier* found himſelf going faſt to Ruin; his *Trade* loſt, and his Eſtate burthened yearly with new Demands from *Bob Booty*; when now, *Bob* and he both found themſelves bamboozled by the *French Prieſt*;

Prieſt; and that their Buſineſs was ſo far from being done, that the *Frenchman* had combined with *Don Pedro* to do all they could to reduce the Affairs of *Jack* yet lower; for they were jealous of him as a Rival in *Trade*; having found him, before *Bob* was his *Factor*, in *good Circumſtances*, and capable of ingroſſing the whole *Clothing Trade* to himſelf. But, beſides all This, *Bob* had enter'd into Articles of Agreement with the *Frenchman*, to abide ſolely by his Determination, and never to uſe *Force* upon any Occaſion; ſo that I have ſeen the *Frenchman*, when *Jack* has got his Friends around him, and laid his Hand upon his Sword, in order to do himſelf Juſtice, I have ſeen him, I ſay, take out the *Proclamation againſt Riots*, which he always carry'd in his Pocket, and immediately read it and diſpers'd them; after which, He inſolently told Him that he would have no *Fighting*; for that it was contrary to a *ſpecifick Compact*. Nay, it was but the other Day, when *Jack* had armed himſelf *Capapé*, and ſwore bloodily he would be about *Don Pedro*'s Houſe, that the *Frenchman* had immediate Recourſe to his *old Remedy*; out came the *Proclamation*, and all *Jack*'s Hopes of *Satisfaction* were again diſappointed.

This, Mr. *D'Anvers*, is the Caſe of honeſt *Jack Teazle*. Though he is brave and virtuous enough, as the World goes; yet his *Enemies*, you ſee, *inſult* him; his *Friends abuſe* him, and all the World *deſpiſe* Him. —His old Friend the *German Merchant*, to whom the Family of the *Teazles* always uſed to have Recourſe in their Difficulties, ſwears ſolemnly that he will never have any thing more to do with him, while he hath any Correſpondence with that old Rogue Father *Frippon*; or employs in his Service that odd Mixture of the Knave and the Fool, *Robin Booty*; and *Jack*'s reaſonable Friends do not know any other Way to extricate his Affairs out of the wicked Hands, into which they are fallen. Sometimes, they think

of applying to the *Lord of the Mannor*, to remove him from being his *Factor*. Then they are told, by *Bob*'s Creatures, He has so good an Opinion of him, that it will be in vain. In short, Sir, our County is in a sort of an Uproar about This. If you could, for one Day only, suspend your Care of the Publick, and give us a Word of your Advice, which hath great Weight amongst us, I believe it would perfectly open my Friend *Jack*'s Eyes, and convince Him that He might with much more Safety depend upon it than on any Counsel, that hath ever been given Him by *Bob Booty*.

R. *I am SIR,*

TAUNTON, *June*, 26*th*, 1729. WILL. FULLER.

N° 158. SATURDAY, *July* 12, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

SIR,

AS the Law, *for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament*, has warmed every honest Heart with Joy, and open'd to us a Prospect of being deliver'd from the Dangers, which we were under, from the *corrupt* and *illegal Practices* in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament; as every honest *Country Gentleman* may, from this Law, hope again to enjoy the natural Rights, to which he was born, and

to take his Share in the Service of the Publick, without being bought out of his Seat in Parliament by *Place-Brokers*, *Penſion-mongers*, *Politicians*, and *Stock-jobbers*; and as this Statute is the only Reſource, which we have to check the Growth of that great and fundamental Evil, *Corruption*, in electing Members to ſerve in Parliament; (which, like the impoiſoning of the Sources of Rivers, muſt in Time have quite deſtroyed our Conſtitution;) for theſe Reaſons I have taken the Liberty, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to ſend you a ſhort Comment on ſeveral Clauſes of this moſt excellent Law.

When we conſider *how* and at *what Time* we came by it, methinks it looks like a *Deodand*. It ſeems to be an immediate Act of Providence; and the more ſo, becauſe, as I have been informed, this Bill was a Child, of which the *Parents* had little or no Hopes. They did not flatter themſelves that it could riſe to Maturity, and become a *Law*; and we may ſay ſeriouſly, what was once waggiſhly ſaid on another Occaſion,—*It was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes.*

You have often inveighed againſt *Corruption*. You have ſhewn what the inevitable Conſequences of it would be; how deſtructive it muſt prove to the Conſtitution, and to the Rights and Liberties of a free People; particularly how it muſt affect us in that Part, which relates to our Choice of *Members of Parliament*.——And you have now the Honour to hear the whole Legiſlature ſay, as you have ſaid, in their Preamble to this *ſaving Law*. It begins with reciting, " that it having been found by Experience that the " Laws in being were not ſufficient to prevent *cor-* " *rupt* and *illegal* Practices in the Election of Mem- " bers to ſerve in Parliament; therefore to remedy " ſo great an Evil, and that hereafter all Elections of " Members may be freely and indifferently made, *this* " *Law enacts*,

First,— "That *Electors* of Members to serve in "Parliament shall take the following *Oath*, if de- "manded by either of the *Candidates*, or any *two* of "the *Electors*."

I —— *do swear I have not* received *or* had *by my self, or any Person whatsoever, in Trust for me, or for my Use and Benefit, directly or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place or Employment, Gift or Reward, or any Promise or Security for any Money, Office, Imployment, Gift, or Reward, in order to give my Vote at this Election; and that I have not before been polled at this Election.*

This solemn and sacred Oath is to be administer'd *gratis* by the Officer, who presides, or takes the Poll at every Election; and if he refuses to administer this Oath, he forfeits *fifty Pounds* to any Person, who shall sue for the same; and no Person shall be admitted to poll till he hath taken this Oath, if demanded as aforesaid; and if the *Sheriff*, or other *returning Officer*, shall admit any Person to be polled before he is sworn, if demanded, he forfeits *one hundred Pounds*, to be sued for by any Person, as before; and every Person, who shall vote, or poll, without first taking this Oath, if demanded, shall incur the Penalty likewise of *one hundred Pounds*.

Immediately after This, it goes on to *enact*, that every *returning Officer*, after he has read the *Writ*, shall take the following Oath;

I —— *do solemnly swear that I have not, directly nor indirectly, received any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place, or Employment, Gratuity or Reward, or any Bond, Bill or Note, or any Promise or Gratuity whatsoever, for making any Return at the present Election of Members to serve in Parliament; and that I will return such Person or Persons, as shall, to the best of my Judgment, appear to me to have the Majority of legal Votes.*

This

This Oath is to be administred to the *Sheriff*, or *returning Officer*, by any Justice or Justices for the County, *&c.* or, in their Absence, by any *three of the Electors*, and the Oath is to be entered among the *Records* of the Sessions, *&c.*

And if any of the *Electors*, *Sheriffs*, *returning Officers*, &c. shall be convicted of *wilful Perjury*, they shall suffer the Pains and Penalties, which are to be inflicted by Law in such Cases; and such Persons, convicted of *Perjury*, shall be for ever afterwards incapable of *Voting*. And for securing and settling the Peace and Quiet of future Elections, all Votes shall be deemed to be *legal*, which have been so declared by the *last Determination* in the House of Commons; which *last Determination* shall be final, to all Intents and Purposes.

As the *Resolutions* of Parliament have often *varied*, with Relation to the Right of Voting in the same Places, this Clause, of which I have given you the Sense, hath therefore wisely prevented all future Contention on that Head, by fixing it thus; for now every Corporation in *England*, where there has ever been any disputed Election, may know who have and who have not a Right of Voting there; they being bound, as we see, to abide by the *last Determination in Parliament*.

And now follows the *great Clause*, which lays a Penalty of *five hundred Pounds* on all Persons, who shall take Money or Reward for their Votes. *If any Person, who hath, or claims to have any Right to vote in any Election, shall take any Reward*, says the *Act*, *by Money, Gift, Loan or other Device; or agree or contract for any Money, Gift, Office, Employment, or other Reward whatsoever, to give his Vote, or refuse or forbear to give his Vote in any Election; or if any Person by himself, or any Person employ'd by him, doth or shall, by any Gift or Reward, or by any Promise, Agreement or Security for any Gift or Reward, corrupt any Person*

to vote; such Person shall forfeit *five hundred Pounds*, to be recovered by any Person, who shall sue for the same, as is before directed, and be for ever disabled to vote in any Election of Members to serve in Parliament, and be for ever disabled to hold, exercise or enjoy any *Office* or *Franchise*, *&c.* in the Corporation, as if such Person was naturally dead; so that here, we see, the *Corruptor* and the *Corrupted*, as it is equal, are both involved in *same* the *Penalty*.

And that this Law may be well obey'd and fully executed, it is farther enacted, that if any Person offending against this Act shall, within *twelve Months* after the Election, discover any Person offending, so that he shall be convicted; such Person, so discovering, and not having been himself before convicted, shall be indemnified and discharged from all *Penalties* and *Disabilities*, which he shall then have incurred by offending against this Act.

Having thus wisely and strongly provided by *Oaths* and *Penalties*, and, as far as human Wisdom can foresee, endeavoured to prevent this great Evil of *Corruption* in electing Members to serve in Parliament, the Legislators have provided likewise that it shall be *publickly known* and *promulgated*; and therefore that no Person whatsoever may pretend Ignorance of it; all *Sheriffs*, *Mayors*, *Bayliffs*, and *other Officers*, to whom the Execution of the Writ for electing Members shall belong, are required, immediately after reading the Writ, to read or cause to be read openly, before all the *Electors*, this Act and every Clause therein contained; and once in every Year it is likewise to be openly read at the *General Quarter-Session of the Peace*, to be holden next after *Easter*; and every *Sheriff*, *Under-Sheriff*, *Mayor*, *&c.* who shall wilfully offend against this Act, shall forfeit 500 *l.* with *Costs of Suit*, in Manner before directed.

And, in order to prevent all malicious and vexatious Prosecutions, it concludes with this Clause, that no Person.

Perſon ſhall be made liable to any *Incapacity, Penalty, &c.* unleſs a Proſecution be commenced within *two Years* after ſuch *Incapacity, Penalty, &c.* ſhall be incurred.

As this wiſe, and, I hope, immortal Law (for ſurely no overgrown Genius in Iniquity will ever be harden'd and wicked enough to endeavour to *repeal*, or to *weaken*, or *explain* away any part of it) is directed to be *publickly read*; I thought, Mr. *D'Anvers*, it would not be unacceptable to you, or to the Publick, to give you the Senſe of it in a few Words.

This Bill hath had various Succeſs, both *within* and *without Doors*. It hath often been *approved* and *condemned* by the *ſame Perſons*; and ſome People, who at firſt *oppoſed* and afterwards *ridiculed* it, on every Occaſion, ſeem already to be aſhamed of both; and from laughing at it, as a *chimerical* and *impracticable Project*, have turned quite ronnd, and endeavoured to make us believe that they themſelves *voted* for and *approved* it.——That they *oppoſed* the paſſing of it, is certain. How far it was their *Intereſt* to oppoſe it Time will diſcover. However, it looks a little like Modeſty that they are, at any Time, aſhamed publickly to avow their Actions; for This they certainly do, when they lay a Claim to the Merit of paſſing thoſe Laws, which, every one knows, they *voted againſt*.—But as you have, in your laſt Paper, ſet this Affair in a clear Light, I have nothing more to ſay now but that,

R. *I am yours, &c.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq;*

Mr. *D'Anvers*,

YOU gave us, ſome time ago, a Diſcourſe on the *Inſtrumenta Regni*, (as the Ancients called them) or *Tools of State*; in which you made ſome juſt Obſervations.

ſervations on the *mercenary Senator*, the *Man-Lion* and the *Court-writer*; but I was ſomewhat ſurprized to find that you took no Notice of another miſchievous Sect of theſe Vermin; I mean *State-Projectors*; who endeavour to get an infamous Livelihood out of the Blood and Bowels of their Fellow-Subjects. *Empſon* and *Dudley* were Wretches of this Denomination; and later Times have not been free from the ſame Kind of *Horſe-Leaches*, who commonly meet with more Encouragement from a *rapacious* and *extravagant Miniſter* than the moſt uſeful and beneficent Members of the Common-wealth; for Inſtances might be produced of Men, who have raked together large Eſtates, and raiſed Themſelves to conſiderable Poſts in the Government by the Invention of *oppreſſive Taxes*, or betraying the Myſteries of their *own Profeſſion*.

Princes, who are abſolute, generally make Uſe of theſe *Cannibals* to fill their own Coffers. They receive *all*, and diſpoſe of it, as They pleaſe. But in *free Countries* like ours, (where a diſtinct Revenue is granted to the *King*, for the Uſes of what is called his *civil Government*, and the other publick Monies are intruſted in the Hands of *Treaſurers*, or *Commiſſioners*) it too often happens that a *weak*, *avaricious*, or *profuſe Miniſter* finds it his Intereſt to employ theſe *Blood-ſuckers*, without any Direction from his Maſter, to ſupply his *own Miſapplications*, and ſave Himſelf the Trouble of *Frugality* and *good Management*.

When I ſpeak againſt *Projectors* in general, I hope no Body can underſtand me to mean any Perſons, whoſe Buſineſs it is to find out *Ways* and *Means* for raiſing thoſe Sums, from Year to Year, which the Parliament thinks fit to grant; but only ſuch, as make a Trade of *Projecting*, and ſpend their whole Lives in *Calculations* of this Kind, without any Regard to our *diſtreſſed Poor* and *declining Manufactures*, or conſidering any Thing farther than *how much ſuch a Tax*

will

will raise, and how to accommodate a *Minister* with Schemes agreeable to his Designs.

There is a Chapter in *Boccalini* full of just Satire on these *Archigogalo's*, (as He calls them) or *Brokers of Oppression*; which gave me the more Pleasure, because it treats *England* as a wise Nation, that would not give any Encouragement to these *vile Wretches*, nor suffer Themselves to be *milk'd at Discretion*, like *Italy* and other slavish Countries. The Book indeed was written many Years ago; but I hope the Observation upon *Us* is still and will always remain equally just.——I have sent you the whole Chapter at length, which I believe will be agreeable to your Readers, whenever you please to insert it.

A Vessel full of State-Projectors *is shipwreck'd on the Shallows of* Lepanto; *and* Apollo *treats them civilly, tho' he hates that Sort of People.*

" THE dreadful Storm at Sea, occasion'd some " Days ago by the furious South-Winds, " having driven a Vessel on the Shallows of *Lepanto*, " the People that dwell on the Sea-Coast, observing " there were a great Number of Passengers on board, " ran to their Relief, and with such good Success, " that tho' the Vessel perished, they saved above eigh- " ty Persons, who were in her. *Apollo* gave Orders " that Care should be taken of them, and Enquiry " made who they were; whence they came; and " whither they were bound. They answered they " were all *State-Projectors* of *Italy*, and came from " thence not long before; which his Majesty hear- " ing, though he is exceedingly compassionate, yet " such is his Detestation of those Enemies to Mankind, " that he almost repented his having relieved them; " thinking such Villains unworthy the least Mercy, " who make it their whole Study to invent those " execrable *Impositions*, with which modern Princes " barba-

" barbarously torment their wretched People. How-
" ever some *Virtuosi* said, that since there was on
" board this Vessel so great a Number of these Fel-
" lows, and all came from *Italy*, there was Reason
" to hope they had brought the good News to *Par-*
" *nassus*, that the *Italian* Princes had, one and all, at
" length put on the generous Resolution of purging
" the State from such abominable Filth. *Apollo* then
" commanded that they should be ask'd, why they
" left *Italy*, and whither they were going? They
" answered, that when they had exhausted all their
" Skill in *Italy*, and wearied all their subtle Inventions
" to drain the People's Purses, and fill the Prince's
" Coffers, by raising the *Gabels*, or *Taxes*, as high as
" possibly they could; nothing being left for them to
" work upon in that Country, they went into *France*,
" and from thence into *Spain*; in both which noble
" Kingdoms they had behaved themselves in such
" Manner, as to leave behind them an eternal Me-
" mory of the Name of the *Florentines* and *Genoese*.
" After This, they endeavoured to get into *England*,
" the *Low Countries*, *Germany* and *Poland*, Provinces
" that overflow with Gold, and abound with rich In-
" habitants, where they hoped to have perform'd
" Wonders; but were severely cudgelled away by the
" People, who, being born to *Liberty*, may be com-
" pared to a sort of Sheep, that give their Shepherd,
" by Way of civil Acknowledgment only, a little Milk
" in a certain *seal'd Measure*, but will not, like others,
" suffer themselves to be *milk'd at Discretion*. From
" thence, like the famous *Trojans* of old under the
" Conduct of *Æneas*, They put to Sea in their little
" Skiff, and went plowing the briny Waves in Search
" of new People and new Lands; where, to the
" Praise, Glory and Benefit of Princes, and that eternal
" Desolation of the People, which secures the Crown
" on the Head of the Sovereign, they might have ex-
" ercised

" erciſed their Talent, and open'd a Shop to vent " their *Projects*.

" When the *Virtuoſi* heard This, they beſought " *Apollo* publickly to revenge the Injuries done to ſo " many Nations; who, through the Wickedneſs of " that vile Race of Men, had been flay'd by their ava- " ricious Princes; and that he would cauſe them to " be burnt with the Fragments of their wreck'd Veſſel. " *Apollo*, whoſe deep Judgment ſurpaſſes all human " Prudence, having heard the ſhameful Profeſſion of " theſe vile Wretches, commanded that all Manner of " Civility ſhould be ſhewn them, and their good En- " tertainment doubled; and ſoon afterwards, having " ſupply'd them with Money and Plenty of Proviſions, " he ſent them to *Conſtantinople*, with Orders to try " if, by their villainous Projects, they could reduce " the *Ottoman Empire*, that mortal Enemy to Learn- " ing, to the ſame State of Deſolation and Deſpair, to " which they boaſted to have brought *France*, *Spain*, " and *Italy*."

N. *I am, Sir, &c.*

N° 159. SATURDAY, *July* 19, 1729.

USBECK to *RUSTAN* at ISPHAHAN.

HERE live a Sort of uſeful Men, who are called *Mathematicians*. They aſſert; but they prove what they aſſert by Reaſon. They believe nothing but what they demonſtrate; yet do they foretel heavenly Events. They know the Path of the Planets. They foreſee and foretel, to the ſmalleſt Point of Time, when

when that *great Luminary, the Nurſe of Nature,* will be ſhadowed by the Interpoſition of the *Moon.* I am enter'd of this Sect of Philoſophers. This Day about five in the Evening the *Moon* made her Path under the Body of that glorious Planet. A fourth Part of him ſeemed to us to be extinguiſhed. His Beams ſhot a fainter Light, and wore a ſilver Hue; when a Cloud interpoſed, and eclipſed the Eclipſe. The Philoſopher, our Maſter, was ſtopped in the Middle of his Lecture. He is accounted an honeſt, but a whimſical Man. He gets his Bread out of the *Stars.* The *Derviſes* here, of whoſe Order he was, would not ſuffer him to eat with them, becauſe he could not aſſent to ſome Tenets, in his Opinion, not entirely agreeable to *Mathematical Truths.* He choſe to run the Hazard of Starving, rather than to conform; yet is he very warm in Opinions as difficult to be reconciled to natural Reaſon. Yes, he would be overjoy'd to die for them. This Man might live very comfortably, if he could make, as well as he foreſees *Eclipſes.*

This Learning in the Stars, *Ruſtan,* was originally with us. Now the *Europeans* may be our Maſters. This Doctrine opens and enlarges the Mind, and throws before it a more extended View of the Works of Omnipotence. The Thoughts of the Vulgar are narrow and unworthy of that *Being,* from the Breath of whoſe Noſtrils all Things aroſe. When we ſee numberleſs Worlds around us, in compariſon of which this Globe is leſs than the ſmalleſt viſible Point, of which it is compoſed; when we may with Reaſon believe that there are Worlds without Number, which cannot be diſcovered by the naked Eye; we may bluſh for our Ignorance and our Impiety, if we preſume to confine his Power to *this Speck.*

Aſtronomical Knowledge has been much improved by *Glaſſes* of a modern Invention. By Theſe, we enlarge our Views of the *heavenly Bodies.* We pry into the Secrets of Nature. We diſcover the Inequalities and Plains

Plains of Water in the Moon, and mark the conſtant and regular Revolutions of the Planets. By *Glaſſes* of another Make, we are capable of diſcerning particularly the minuteſt Object. We may, by the help of Theſe, perceive the Muſcles of a *Flea*, and be able to diſſect a *Mite*. By theſe *Glaſſes* we diſcover in what Manner the Blood of Men and Animals moves in a continual Round. I have ſeen the vital Fluid circulate in the Veins of a *Fiſh*. I have likewiſe ſeen, by the Aid of theſe Lights, Myriads of Creatures indued with Life and Motion, whoſe whole habitable Globe was the Superficies of a *Plumb*; and could the *Virtuoſi*, who work thus curiouſly on *Glaſs*, improve their Art a little farther, perhaps the viſual Faculty might be ſo far aided and refined as to diſcern a Nation of *Animalcula* exiſting even upon theſe Atoms on the Plumb; and Philoſophers, from this viſible Extenſion of Life, might explain to the meaneſt Underſtanding the infinite Diviſibility of Matter. I expect not to be believed by People of ordinary Capacities. They will imagine that I uſe the Authority of a Traveller; but Thou knoweſt my Love of Truth. I ſearch after it continually. My Soul receives Life and Warmth from every Notion conformable to it.

Theſe knowing Infidels carry their Diſquiſitions yet farther. They have formed an *Engine*, by which they rarify the Air, and attenuate that thin Body to ſuch a Degree, as to cauſe all Things placed within it to be of equal Weight; ſo that a *Feather* and a *Ball of Lead* ſeem to gravitate alike. They are Maſters of Life and Death. I have ſeen an Animal expiring in this Machine one Moment, by exhauſting the Air; and the next reſtored, by letting in again the Quantity of Life, which it had been deprived of. Theſe Philoſophers affirm, that all this Maſs of Matter, on which we exiſt, is held together by *Attraction*. What that *Power* is, they pretend not to determine; but when it ceaſes, the Elements, they ſay, will loſe their Texture, and

fall back again into their first Confusion. May I perish, *Rustan*, if this *Mathematician* has not filled my Head so full with the Desire of Knowledge, that I wish immediately to take Wing through our Atmosphere into some neighbouring World, and take a farther View into the Works of the *Omnipotent*.

Were it possible, *Rustan*, for these Artists to compose *Glasses*, that could discover the Workings of the human Soul, and lay open to our View the various Passions of our frail Nature, Man would start at the Sight of Man, and behold him yet altogether savage and uncivilized. For Example, had we *political Glasses*, and could by their Aid look into the inward, intricate and awkard Motions of the Mind of a *modern Statesman*, (a modern *European Statesman* I mean) should we not behold a strange, wild and contradictory Jumble of Principles and Passions? Now, you would see *this Statesman*, as he calls himself, pretending to form *Schemes*, unknowing what they are, or to what they tend. Now, you would see him busily employed in supporting *Liberty* by the Aid of *Tyranny*; maintaining *Trade* by destroying *Manufactures*, and raising *publick Credit* by *robbing the Publick*; bungling, plunging, floundring on from one false Step to another; still held down by the Nose to *ill-concerted Treaties* by a Politician a little wiser than Himself; lavishing the Nation's Gold in vain; while He and the rest of the World behold with Astonishment his Country's once glorious Arms bound down, and rendered useless by *wicked Stipulations*; yet dares He not discover to his Prince the Condition, to which he has reduced him and his People. Now, you might behold the Muscles of his Heart dilating with Hope, that the Force of his Gold will at last prevail, and save him from Destruction; then shrinking at new Demands and Threats from his *Friends* and *Allies*. Now, he sucks in Clouds of Incense from his Superiors, *Pensioners*, *Placemen*, *Bribemongers*, *Slaves* and *Dependants*. Now, he creeps, cringes,

cringes, flatters and bows to lordly *Things*, as low as his meaneſt Flatterers.

The *firſt Miniſter*, in moſt of the Courts of *Europe*, is a Sort of a *Vice-Roy*; it being the Cuſtom here, as with us, for their Emperors to leave the Buſineſs of Government to *Deputies*, and to *king it by Proxy*; with this Difference only, that the *offending Stateſman*, or *Miniſter* here, muſt be tried by *Forms of Law*, tho' the Goods are found upon him; that is, tho' the Spoils of the Publick are to be daily ſeen about him, in *Lands*, *Houſes*, *Horſes*, *Jewels*, *Pictures*, *Plate*, *Slaves*, and *ready Money*; tho' he outſhines in Splendor the *antient Nobility*, and carries the infamous *Teſtimonia* of his plundering the Publick continually about him. The Emperor does not ſend him the *ſummary Bowſtring*, but awaits the Judgment of the *Law* upon him.

Yet, if we could have our *political Glaſs*, we ſhould ſee him, notwithſtanding his outward Appearance of Tranquility and Joy, dreading a future Accuſation, and expecting the Loſs of his *Liberty*, his *Gold*, his *Life*; intreating only to be ſtript of the Trappings of Wealth and Dignities that load him heavily, and deſiring to deſcend naked and with Safety; yet ſtill going on hourly to abuſe his Truſt; thruſting into his Prince's Ears *continual Falſhoods*; taking from him every Day the *Hearts of his Subjects*; ſhutting out every *honeſt* and *wiſe Man* from his Preſence; hedging and incloſing him round with his *own Creatures*; not ſuffering him to attend to the Cries of an *injured People*, and purſuing one conſtant Scene of *Treachery*, *Rapine* and *Oppreſſion*——This is the noxious *Caterpillar*, which is ſometimes permitted, in theſe Countries, to prey on that fair Flower, *Liberty*——I will tell thee, *Ruſtan*, theſe People have, ſome of them, enjoy'd this ineſtimable Bleſſing, till they are ſurfeited with it. It is the Child of *Virtue*, and *Temperance* is its Nurſe. It will not thrive in a luxuriant Soil; and

when it is once driven away by *Intemperance* and *Corruption*, it rarely has been known to return—But let me go on and tell thee, that by *theſe Glaſſes* we might now and then have the Pleaſure to ſee the Heart of this *Devourer* beating quick, convulſed, and dreading a *periodical Drop of Ink*, which ſinks into his Liver from the Point of a Pen, and ſours the whole Maſs of his Blood. You might behold him toſſed with various *Jealouſies* and *Fears*; without one *unbribed Friend*. You might obſerve him to be thruſt on by *Thoſe*, who hold him by the *Secret*, into new Crimes every Moment; while he hears the Execrations of a *whole People*, and his Repoſe at Night is broken with the Conſciouſneſs of his Guilt, and the conſtant Apprehenſions of Juſtice.

How is it that an *inglorious Man* is able thus to ſupport the Horrors of *Reflection?* What is *Ambition*, and the *Ornaments* of it? Will the wearing of *Ribbons* or *Feathers*, or being called the Maſter of various and coſtly Buildings and Furniture, or the drinking of precious Wines, or the feeding of Horſes and Footmen, compenſate for the Anxiety and Hazard and Horrors that a Man of this Turn muſt feel for having made a whole People miſerable, and Mankind his Foe?——If Theſe are, (and Theſe are, I think, the common Temptations) every Man of Senſe and Virtue muſt look down upon, and deſpiſe them.

I will tell thee, *Ruſtan*, and thou knoweſt it to be true. We have often ſettled it together. *Happineſs conſiſts in the Limitation of our Deſires.* Could we think like Philoſophers, we ſhould know certainly that the Duration of our Being in this Form is confined but to a very few annual Revolutions of this little Globe we inhabit; that this Compoſition, wonderful as it is, muſt ſoon break and be moulded by the great Creator into new Matter as wonderful; and that in order to taſte true Knowledge, which is the greateſt Pleaſure, we muſt preſerve our Underſtandings as much

as

as we are able from the Biaſs of Paſſion, that we may take a clearer and a more diſtinct View of this little Part of the Works of *Alha*; after which, if the Spirit, which animates This, ſhall inform ſome new Matter, or take a more glorious Modification; who knows, *Ruſtan*, but theſe Enquiries into the Wiſdom of our Prophet, may make us capable of enjoying a more inlarged Happineſs, and qualify us to receive and to taſte Truth? *R.*

N° 160. SATURDAY, *July* 26, 1729.

Rem nulli obſcuram, noſtræ nec vocis egentem,
Conſulis, O bone Rex. Cuncti ſe ſcire fatentur
Quid Fortuna ferat Populi, *ſed dicere muſſant.*
Det Libertatem fandi, *Flatuſque remittat,*
Cujus ob Auſpicium infauſtum moreſque ſiniſtros,
(Dicam equidem, licet Arma mihi, mortemq; minetur)
Lumina tot cecidiſſe Ducum, *totamque videmus*
Conſediſſe urbem Luctu. VIRGIL.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR, *

IT hath always been eſteemed a very difficult Matter to diſcover the ſecret Springs, which influence the Actions of Princes, and ſet the great Affairs of the World in Motion. This Difficulty may ariſe, as it often does, from two very different Cauſes. *Stateſmen*, of *great Abilities*, make it their chief Care to

* *Mr.* FRANCKLIN *was taken up for this Paper; but upon offering to produce his Author, He was diſcharg'd without Bail.*

conceal their real Deſigns, by artful Diſguiſes and Amuſements, till they are ripe for Execution; and *little Politicians*, from an awkard Affectation of the ſame Craft, run into wild Schemes at Random, without conſidering, or having Penetration enough to diſcern the natural Effects of them; by which means They often negotiate Themſelves and their Country into Difficulties and Confuſions, of which no Body, upon Retroſpection and Enquiry, is able to diſcover the *original Cauſe*.

The Affairs of *Europe* have been, for ſeveral Years paſt, in a very unſettled and perplexed Condition; and yet no Body ſeems able to aſſign the true Reaſon of theſe Diſturbances; or to inform us with any Certainty from what Source they flow'd. Perhaps Thoſe, who are able to do This, may not be willing. At preſent, it is a Myſtery in Politicks, which it is in vain for us to endeavour to explain.

The Clouds ſeem'd at firſt to gather in the *North*, and to threaten a *religious War*. Every Body remembers how our Paſſions were induſtriouſly raiſed, for above a Year together, in behalf of our unfortunate Brethren, who were moſt inhumanly perſecuted at *Thorn*. The Cruelty and Injuſtice of that Affair were repreſented in the ſtrongeſt Colours. Addreſſes were ſent up from all Parts of the Kingdom, expreſſing the Thanks of the People for the great Care, which his Majeſty took to ſupport the Profeſſion of the true Faith even in diſtant Countries; and we were inſtructed to talk of nothing leſs than pulling the King of *Poland* off his Throne, if He did not make us immediate Satisfaction for ſuch an Inſult on the *Proteſtant Religion*. But when our Reſentment was juſtly work'd up to the higheſt Pitch, the Thing was ſuffered to die away by Degrees; the poor Proteſtants of *Thorn* (if they were ever injured) remain ſtill unredreſs'd; and I do not hear that their Caſe, which gave us the firſt Alarm,

Alarm, hath ever been ſo much as mentioned, or offered to be mentioned, at the Congreſs of *Soiſſons*.

We were at that Time, as to all outward Appearance, upon good Terms with the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, who had juſt before acceded to the *Quadruple Allyance*; by which his *Catholick Majeſty* once more gave up all Claims and Pretenſions to *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar*; unleſs the *publick Treaty*, which ſecured that Fortreſs to us, was invalidated by a *ſecret Article* for its Reſtitution.

Nay, ſo perfectly happy was the Situation of our Affairs at this Time, that in his late Majeſty's Speech to his Parliament, on the 12th of *November* 1724, we find the following Words. PEACE *with all* POWERS *abroad, at home perfect Tranquility, Plenty and an uninterrupted Enjoyment of all civil and religious Rights, are moſt diſtinguiſhing Marks of the Favour and Protection of the divine Providence; and Theſe, with all their happy Conſequences, will, I doubt not, by the Bleſſing of God upon our joint Endeavours, be long continued to my People.*

But, all of a ſudden, and without any viſible Cauſe, there was another *Gathering of Clouds from a* Calm, *not to be parallel'd by any paſt Proſpect*; and what is very remarkable, theſe *Clouds have continued gathering* ever ſince, and almoſt miraculouſly *ſuſpended in the Air*, contrary to the common Courſe of Nature, and all the known Laws of Gravitation. Indeed, they have burſt upon *Us* at ſeveral Times, in a violent Manner, and done us infinite Miſchief; nor do they ſeem to be yet diſcharged; but *other Nations*, which ſeemed to be equally threatned with the breaking of theſe *Clouds*, have enjoy'd a perfect *Calm*, undiſturbed by *Us*, amidſt *continued Inſults*, *Hoſtilities* and *Depredations*; a *Calm*, which is not indeed to be *parallel'd by any* paſt Proſpect!

The Publication of the *Vienna Treaty* ſtruck us with terrible Apprehenſions. The Conjunction of the *Emperor*

Emperor and the King of *Spain* (who had been old, inveterate Enemies) seem'd so *unaccountable* to our *Politicians*, that they concluded there must be some very bad Design at the Bottom, which it was not yet proper to reveal. This produced the *Treaty of Hanover*, and occasioned that close Conjunction between *Us* and *France*, which some People have taken the Liberty to think equally *unaccountable*.

It hath been said, in Justification of this Negotiation, that the Treaty of *Vienna* made a *Counter-Allyance* absolutely necessary; and that *France* was the only Power left, which was able effectually to support us against so formidable an Union. *This Treaty* therefore was concerted, concluded and signed soon after the Treaty of *Vienna*. The King of *Prussia* acceded to it, and was some Time after followed by *Holland*, *Sweden*, and some other *minor Powers*, under certain Limitations and Conditions. The *Vienna Allyance* was likewise strengthened by the Accession of other States; and the chief Powers of *Europe* being thus engaged on one Side or the other, it was generally expected that a War would soon break out, tho' both Parties pretended to stand only on their *Defence*. Perhaps, I must not be allowed to say that we have been actually involved in all the Miseries of a *War*; but I am sure we have been far from enjoying the Blessings of *Peace*. It hath been an odd Jumble of Affairs, between one and the other; for which *Machiavel* Himself would be at a Loss to account.

But as the Consequences of *these Treaties* and *these Measures* have chiefly affected *Us*, I will endeavour to set them in a short and a clear Light.——By *Consequences* I mean (according to the natural Sense of the Word) the *Events*, which have follow'd *these Measures*, without implying that they could be avoided, or that any *particular Persons* are answerable for them.

Though it was declared, on both Sides, that the *Treaties*, which They had made, were *defensive* only, yet

yet They discover'd the utmost Rancour against each other, and even proceeded to such *Language*, as is seldom used between Nations, that are actually at *War*. It was apprehended on our Part (nay it was asserted with the utmost Confidence) that besides the Treaties of *Peace* and *Commerce*, sign'd at *Vienna* and made publick, their *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majesties had entered into *secret Engagements* of the most dangerous Consequence to *Great Britain*; such as wresting *Gibraltar* out of our Hands, and setting the *Pretender* on the Throne; and though his *Imperial* Majesty thought fit to disclaim any such *Engagements*, or *Designs*, in the most solemn Manner, his Protestations were so far from having any Effect, that his *Minister*, whom He commanded to make them in his Name, was ordered to depart the Kingdom in a very precipitate Manner, and Measures were taken to prevent the Execution of these Schemes. Our *Land Forces* were increas'd; and lest the King of *Spain* should make any ill Use of the *Treasure*, which was expected at that Time from the *West-Indies*, we put our selves to a vast Expence (without any Assistance from our *Allies*, who were at least equally concern'd) in sending a large Squadron of Ships to block up this Treasure in *Portobello*, and even to take it, if it was to be taken by *Persuasion*. How They *succeeded*, and what great Use They were of towards expediting the Peace of *Europe*, is well known.

These gentle Measures were chosen, as we have been since told, in order to avoid giving any Provocation, or just Offence to the King of *Spain*; but He was so unreasonable as to think the *stopping* his Ships only an Act of *Hostility*, and resented it accordingly. He gave immediate Orders for seizing the Effects of the *South-Sea* Company, to a very great Value, at *la vera Cruz*, and for taking our Ships at Sea, not by *Persuasion*, but by *Force*; which were executed with great Constancy and Success. He likewise laid a vigorous

vigorous Siege to *Gibraltar*, and obliged us to defend it, at a great Expence, for ſeveral Months together, without any Aſſiſtance from our *Allies*, either by Sea or Land. At length *Preliminaries* were ſign'd; and a *Ceſſation* of Hoſtilities was agreed on, till a *Peace* could be concluded; which were punctually executed on our Part. We order'd the Fleet, which had laid rotting ſo long at the *Baſtimento's*, to withdraw; and ſuffer'd the *Galleons* to return, with all their Riches, to *old Spain*; in Hopes that his Catholick Majeſty would immediately have cauſed the Effects to be diſtributed to the *Proprietors*; that He would have order'd the Ship *Prince Frederick* and her Cargo to be reſtor'd, and have put a Stop to the Depredations committed on our Merchants; none of which, as far as I can learn, are yet done; though ſtipulated by the *Preliminaries* and the Articles of *Ceſſation*.

What is moſt to be lamented in this Affair is, that though our Enemies have continued to uſe us in ſuch a Manner, for ſo many Years, we have been reſtrained, by ſome *political Conſiderations*, from doing our ſelves Juſtice, and have had no Opportunity of exerting that Power, which Providence hath put into our Hands. I ſpeak from *Authority*, Mr. *D'Anvers*; from the *higheſt Authority*; and therefore you may publiſh it with Safety. Obſerve the following Paragraph in his preſent Majeſty's Speech, at his opening the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, *Jan.* 27. 1727.

" *I am very ſenſible of the diſagreeable and uneaſy* " *Situation, in which our Affairs have been for ſome* " *Time, and have been extremely concern'd to ſee* " *many of the Inconveniencies of a War, attending us,* " *without any Opportunity of reſenting the Injuries we* " *ſuſtain'd, or gaining any of thoſe Advantages in Re-* " *turn, which the vigorous Proſecution of ſo juſt a* " *Cauſe and the Succeſs of our Arms might probably* " *have ſecured to Us.*"

Since

Since that Time, we have been negotiating at *Soiſſons*, where a *Congreſs* was open'd above a Year ago. We have negotiated at *Paris*, *Compeigne*, and other Places, where the *French Court* hath reſided; with what Succeſs I leave the World to determine; though the Continuance of the united Squadron at *Spithead* ſeems to juſtify our Apprehenſions, that all Things are not yet brought to a final Accommodation.

This therefore is our Caſe. In the Year 1724, we were at Peace with *all Powers abroad*. The very next Year the Treaty of *Hanover* was ſigned; and at preſent we are ſo far from being at Peace *with all Powers abroad*, that we are embroiled with moſt of them. We have Diſputes not only with the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, but with the King of *Pruſſia*, our Ally; with the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, and the King of *Denmark*.—Such are the Conſequences, or Events, that have followed (I do not ſay they were occaſioned by) the Project of the *Hanover Treaty*.

We have been, for ſeveral Months, in Expectation of the King of *Spain*'s laſt Reſolutions; but whether the Diſpatches, which *M. Bannieres* hath at length brought to *Paris*, are ſatisfactory to the Allies of *Hanover*, as it hath been confidently reported, Time muſt diſcover. However, it is hoped, that if the Wind ſhould happen to come into the right Quarter, ſo that our Fleet may be able to ſail, we ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves to be held much longer in Suſpence by the Delays and Prevarications either of our *pretended Friends*, or *real Enemies*.

I am, SIR, &c.

A. W. RALEIGH.

N° 161. SATURDAY, *August* 2, 1729.

Venimus ad Summum Fortunæ.——HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

Mr. *D'Anvers*,



YOU have frequently inveighed againſt *Corruption* in general, and forewarn'd us of the Effects, which it muſt naturally have on our Conſtitution, unleſs ſpeedily reſtrain'd. You have exerted your laudable Endeavours to alarm our Apprehenſions on this Account; to raiſe our Indignation againſt *Thoſe*, who are the Authors and Promoters of it; and to excite our Zeal in oppoſing Them. Every wiſe and honeſt Man, I hope, thinks Himſelf obliged to you for theſe Writings, which with Pleaſure I obſerve have not been altogether without Effect. But as it hath been objected by your Adverſaries that *Fallacies lurk under general Aſſertions*, (which is very true in many Caſes, whatever it may be in This) I wiſh you would deſcend a little more into *Particulars*; and, by a Review of the *preſent Age*, ſhew how generally depraved it is grown; how *Corruption* hath gain'd Ground amongſt Men of almoſt all Orders and Profeſſions; and what a Deluge of moſt pernicious Vices and Enormities it hath introduced.

Here,

Here, Sir, you will find a large Field to expatiate in, and too many Proofs, particular Proofs, of what you have so often asserted.

Luxury and *Extravagance*, with their constant Attendants, *Necessity* and *Prostitution*, are too visible in all Parts of the Kingdom; especially in this great City, where a general Spirit of *Prodigality* and *Excess* is seen to prevail (I wish I could not say it was encourag'd) amongst all Degrees of Men, from one End of the Town to the other. What can this produce at a Time, when there is such a general Stagnation of all Trade, but *Distress*, *Bankruptcy*, *Dependance*, and other numberless Evils to the Publick? And if *Extravagance* is of such mischievous Consequence in the Center of Trade, which draws all the Riches of the Kingdom to it; what terrible Effects must it produce in those Parts, which are constantly drain'd to support this great, over-grown *Leviathan*, and which can subsist only by *Labour*, *Industry* and *Frugality*?

You will find, Sir, that the abominable Crimes of *Perjury* and *Forgery* were never so frequent amongst us, as They have been of late; especially amongst Men of *Family* and *Fortune*. I need not put the Reader in Mind how many notorious Instances of this Kind the Course of a very few Years hath produced; and I am glad to decline it, out of Humanity to Those, who may unjustly suffer by a particular Enumeration.

I hope the *Bill*, which was lately pass'd to suppress this Evil, will have its Effect.

These, Mr. *D'Anvers*, are heinous Crimes; and very prejudicial to human Society. But the greatest *political* Evil is *Venality of Offices*; because I think it demonstrable that This is generally attended with *Corruption* in Office; which is the original Source, from whence all other *political Evils* may be properly said to flow.

The *Sale of Offices* is therefore to be principally avoided by a wise State; for if Places are to be sold, it is *Money*, not *Merit*, that will be the Qualification; and if a Person is to give away half the Profits of his Place to the Person, from whom He receiv'd it, He will endeavour to reimburse Himself by Extortion and Oppression. In the mean Time, Those, who are fit to supply the Places of Trust, will not accept of them, and the Insufficient only will fill them; as if the *Drawback of an Office* were but a kind of Compensation for the Defect of the *Officer's Capacity*.

Nay, if Men of *Merit* should be sometimes induced, by unequal Fortune, to submit to hard Terms; yet it is certain that when *Places* are brought to Market, they will generally be fill'd with Persons of ordinary Capacities; and the only Criterion of their Worth will be either the Weight of their Pockets to *give most*, or the Indigence of their Fortunes to *take least*.

This great Abuse of *buying* and *selling Places* hath always been treated with the utmost Detestation, whenever it hath been brought to Judgment. In the *Church* it is *Simony*, attended with great Penalties; and I do not see why it ought not to be made as infamous and dangerous in the *State*. What are the Consequences of it, we have lately seen in the Cases of the *Masters in Chancery* and the *Keepers of our Prisons*. It was come to such a Pass, that a poor Wretch could not be admitted to die a lingering, tormenting Death in a noisome Dungeon, without paying *exorbitant Fees* for it.

The late glorious (and I hope immortal) Act, against *Bribery* and *Corruption*, seems to guard very well against the Venality of Parliament; so that now, it is to be wish'd, nothing will be sought for but Merit in the Candidate; and Men of Capacity, Fortune and Freedom of Judgment only will be introduced into that Assembly.

If

If venal Abuſes were to grow in the *Senate* and the *Adminiſtration*, it would be difficult to invent a Puniſhment ſevere enough for the Promoters of ſuch an Evil, which is of ſo contagious a Nature, being attended with *Profit*, that if it is once countenanced amongſt the *Great*, it ſoon ſpreads amongſt the lower Claſs of Men. I remember an Inſtance, in low Life, of an Abuſe of this Kind, which hath made the Offender juſtly deteſted by all Thoſe, to whom his Wickedneſs was known; which was aggravated by the Character of the Perſon, who was a *Clergyman*. The Caſe was This.

A Gentleman being deſirous, on his Death-Bed, to do a generous Act, which might out-live Him, left by his Will, amongſt other Charities, an handſome Allowance for a *School-Maſter*, to inſtruct a Number of poor Boys in the chriſtian Religion, to aſſiſt them in a proper Education to get an honeſt Livelihood. This Part of his Will was left to Truſtees; amongſt whom was my *Clergyman*; a bold, troubleſome, over-bearing Creature, always creating Animoſities and Diviſions; and a common *Barreter* in his Country; which ſoon made it very diſagreeable to the reſt of the *Truſtees* to act with him; ſo that he got the whole to himſelf, and accordingly made a *political Uſe* of it; put in a *poor, ignorant Woman*, who was fitter to be taught herſelf than to inſtruct others; from whom he received, in Imitation of his *Betters*, a yearly Allowance of what the *Donor* directed; and becauſe he would be more faſhionable and get all he could, no Boy was permitted to receive the Benefit of this Charity, who did not firſt ſhake him handſomely by the Palm. This little mean Avarice, and ſordid Wickedneſs, in robbing the *Poor*, hath made him juſtly obnoxious to the Hatred of the whole Neighbourhood. I mention This only as an Inſtance how ſome Men, for the meereſt Trifle, will proſtitute their Conſciences and Profeſſion, and will forfeit a good Name, for the

Advantage of a little Gain. How glad would any honeſt Man be, to have ſuch an Opportunity to do Good at another Man's Coſt; to feed the Hungry and inſtruct the Ignorant, both the greateſt Works of Charity, and This without Expence? A good Man would rejoice in This; but what muſt that Man be, who rejects the Occaſion, and, which is worſe, perverts it; who renders the good Intention of another of none or very little Effect, and This only to gratify his own Avarice? A Man of this Bent of Mind wants only the Opportunity, and he would without Remorſe rob the *Exchequer*; raiſe *heavy Taxes* on the People; bribe with 50,000 *l.* Thoſe, who would give him 100,000 *l.* A Man, by this low Inſtance, gives a plain Indication what he would do in the higheſt Offices, could he obtain them; and if a Perſon procures the juſt Hatred of his Pariſh and Neighbourhood, by injuring a few, what Indignation muſt ariſe againſt *Thoſe*, who by *publick Miſapplication* ſhould occaſion *publick Miſeries*; and who ſhould pillage and rob the Subject, in order to make good the *Deficiencies of his own Miſmanagement*, and to enable him the better to get more when *farther Miſmanagements* ſhould cauſe *farther Deficiencies*.—Such a *Miniſter* would ſoon tire out the moſt giving People; and the Reſentment of the People, in their Turn, from Murmurs, Diſcontents, and univerſal Clamour, would ſoon teach him that *Miniſters* are anſwerable for their Actions; that there is a King above them that will hearken to the Cries of his People; and puniſh, ſeverely puniſh Him, as ſoon as his Crimes are ripe for Judgment; but This can now ſcarce ever happen in *England*. The Act againſt *Bribery* has ſo far ſecured the *Freedom of Parliament*, that henceforward it will be very difficult for an *evil Miniſter* to eſcape their jealous diſcerning Eye. His wicked Projects will be nipt in the Bud; and the Nation ſaved from the pernicious Conſequences, which the Execution of them would draw upon it.

We

We shall see, *as we have lately done*, our *Parliament* paying due Honour to the wise and prudent Management of our *Ministers*, and our *Ministers* answering their Place and Character; opening, without Reserve or Fear, the Springs of their Actions and Conduct; and making the World Judges of their disinterested and wise Measures; *Ministers*, who will *ask for Money only when it's wanted*, and will justly and clearly *account for it when disbursed*. By this Act a *Ministry*, being always under the Inspection of an *unbyassed Parliament*, can have no Views but what are honourable; and their greatest Honour will be to meet with publick Approbation. Such a *Ministry*, joined with the *Prince*, will be doing all the Good their high Stations enable them to do, in order to deserve the People's just Blessings and Applause.

In short, if our *Constitution* is the best in the World, and our *Liberty* the natural Result of our Constitution; if the *Parliament* is the Guardian of *Liberty*, and *Freedom* the Essence of *Parliament*; our *Constitution* may be now said to have received from *this Act*, one of the greatest Securities that human Wisdom can contrive, or add to it; for it's *Excellence* will preserve it from a *Repeal*, and it's *Clearness* and *Simplicity*, capable to be understood by the meanest Capacity, will preserve it from an *Explanation*.

O.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEREAS *Monsieur* Bannieres *was robb'd, on the Road between* Port St. MARY's *and* PARIS, *of several Papers, of great Importance to the Tranquility of* Europe; *This is to give Notice, that if the Person, who took them, will restore them to Mr.* H. Ballance, Peace-Broker, *at the Sign of the* golden Scales *in la* Rue

St. Honorée at Paris, *before Chriſtmas next, he ſhall receive the Sum of* 500,000l. *and* no Queſtions ask'd; *or if any other Perſon will apprehend the ſaid* Robber, *ſo that he may be convicted, or reſtore the ſaid Papers,* ſo much wanted, *to the Gentleman before-mentioned, he ſhall receive the ſame Reward.*

Witneſs my Hand, H. BALLANCE.

N.B. *The* PERSON, *who committed the Robbery is well known; and if he does not reſtore them before the Time ſpecified, his* Name *will be advertiſed at full Length.*

N° 162. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 9, 1729.

Diruit, ædificat, mutat Quadrata Rotundis. HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq;*

SIR,

THOUGH the Report, which was confidently ſpread abroad, upon the Arrival of M. *Bauniéres* at *Paris*, that a *final Accommodation* was concluded with *Spain*, upon Terms perfectly agreeable to the Allies of *Hanover*, is pretty much blown over; yet we are ſtill flatter'd with Hopes and Aſſurances, from a certain Quarter, that his *Catholick Majeſty* hath conſented to *ſomething*, which, though not *deciſive*, tends to *forward* the Negotiations at *Soiſſons*, and lays a Foundation for the Tranquility of *Europe*.

We have not yet received the leaſt Information from *Authority* whether there really is any ſuch *Expedient*, or *what* it is; but as this great Affair of *Peace* hath long

long employ'd the Speculation of all *Europe*, and deſerves the Attention of *Great Britain* more than of any other State, becauſe the *Want* of it affects *Us* more than the Subjects of any other State; it cannot be improper to examine the Accounts, which have been lately publiſhed in ſeveral Papers, both *foreign* and *domeſtick*.

We were at firſt told, in general, by theſe Writers, " that his *Catholick Majeſty* ſeem'd inclinable to ac- " cept the Propoſitions, which had been made to " Him on the Part of *Great Britain*; but that He " could not give his *final Anſwer* till the Return of a " Courier, whom He had diſpatch'd to *Vienna* for his " *Imperial* Majeſty's Reſolutions upon them."

We have been ſince informed more particularly, by the ſame Writers, that " One of theſe Propoſitions " was, immediately to ſend a Body of 12,000 *Spaniſh* " Troops into *Italy*, to ſecure the Succeſſion of *Tuſ-* " *cany*, *Parma* and *Placentia* for the Infant *Don Car-* " *los*, upon the Demiſe of the Princes now reigning."

I think We may aſſert with Safety that this Account cannot be true; and that no ſuch *Propoſition* hath been made on our Part, when we conſider the Conduct of *ſome Gentlemen*, for ſeveral Years paſt, on this very Account; and the Buſtle that hath been made about the growing Greatneſs of *Don Carlos*; who was repreſented in the *Enquiry* (a Book, known to be written with their *Approbation* at leaſt) as ſo formidable a Prince, that he ſeem'd to threaten all *Europe*, even in his Minority, with *univerſal Monarchy*. By the Death of his *Father* and his *elder Brother* without Iſſue, (who are neither of them yet dead) He was to be King of *Spain*. By the Death of his preſent *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* without *Male Iſſue*, (who is alſo ſtill alive) and the non-Efficacy of the *late Renunciations*, He was to be King of *France*; and by his Marriage with the *eldeſt Arch-Dutcheſs of Auſtria*, (which hath not been ſince mentioned) He

was to have been *Emperor* of *Germany*.—— Is it reasonable therefore to suppose that *We*, who seemed to be so very apprehensive of the Strength of this *young Gentleman* three Years ago, by the Conjunction of these *three Powers*, should ever make a Proposal to strengthen Him still more, by the Addition of several large *Italian Dominions*? For though no Part of this *Scheme* hath yet taken Effect, *Don Carlos* hath still the same Chance for *universal Monarchy*; the same Chance to be *Emperor*, King of *Spain* and King of *France*, as He had when the *Enquiry* was written; and therefore it is equally our Interest to guard against such a *terrible Contingency*.

The Author of the *Enquiry* observes indeed very justly, that "by the *Treaty of London*, July 22, 1718, "*Don Carlos*, Son to the present Queen, was esta-"blish'd in the Succession of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Pla-"centia*; and This consented to by the *Emperor*, "who alone was capable of disturbing it; and effec-"tually guaranty'd by the Powers of *Britain* and "*France*."——But This was long before the *Treaty of Vienna* was form'd, and establish'd that *unaccountable Conjunction* between the *Empire* and *Spain*, which alarm'd us with such dreadful Apprehensions.

Another Writer, who often appears on the same Side of the Question with the *Enquiry*, hath gone farther; and, no longer ago than *January* last, told us that this *Succession* of *Don Carlos* (without any Supposition of *universal Monarchy*) was contrary to the Interests of all the Princes of *Europe*; and though it might be stipulated by the *Treaty of London*, as mentioned in the *Enquiry*, was strenuously opposed at the Congress at *Cambray*, which was open'd in Pursuance of *that Treaty*, even by *those Powers*, who *consented to it* and undertook to *guaranty it*—His Words are as follows.

"A Congress assembled in that Place, (*Cambray*) "pursuant to the *Treaty of London*, in order to recon-"cile *Germany* and *Spain*.

"But

" But the *Emperor*, having already obtained his " Deſires in the Affair of *Sicily*, wanted nothing " more, and was unwilling to be reconciled with " *Spain*, as He had no good Will to the *Succeſſion* ſo " often mentioned.

" Becauſe a Prince, in Poſſeſſion of *Parma* and *Tuſ-* " *cany*, aſſiſted by the Treaſures, the Fleets and Forces " of *Spain*, might with the greateſt Eaſe ſubdue the " *Auſtrian* Territories, *Sicily*, *Milan* and *Naples*.

" The Family *de Medicis*, Grand Dukes of *Tuſcany*, " (though the *Male Line* will be extinct in the Perſon " of the preſent Prince) ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, their " Dominions were not *Fiefs* of the *Empire*, and that " the *Succeſſion* could not be diſpos'd of.

" The Houſe of *Parma* were equally unwilling *Don* " *Carlos* ſhould be Sovereign of *that Dutchy*.

" The *French* had a great Averſion to the *Project*, " as it might prove the Coalition of all the little States " of *Italy*, and make *Don Carlos* a Match for Them- " ſelves in *Lombardy*; nor hath there been an Inſtance " like it, on that Side the *Alps*, theſe many Ages.

" The Kingdom of *Great Britain* had alſo as much " Reaſon to *oppoſe* and *prevent* it.

" Since, if *Don Carlos* ſhould ever ſucceed to *Tuſ-* " *cany*, LEGHORN, the Mart of our *Mediterranean* " *Trade*, will be in his Poſſeſſion; and conſequently " *Spain* will have Power, at any Time, to deprive us " of Commerce in the *Levant*, as well as the *Weſt-* " *Indies*.

" In which Caſe, it will be *nearly the ſame*, as if " we give up GIBRALTAR and PORT-MAHON; becauſe " thoſe Places will be of *little Service* to our Medi- " terranean Commerce, when the Marts of that " Trade ſhall intirely exclude us from all Traffick.

" The Houſe of *Savoy*, the Court of *Rome*, the " Republicks of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *&c.* were likewiſe " very ſtrong in their Oppoſition to *this Deſign*, and

" *Self-*

" *Self-Preservation* would not allow them to consent " to it.

" This therefore being the *great Point* debated at " the Congress of *Cambray*, who can wonder at the " Length of those Negotiations, which were natu- " rally litigated by the strenuous Opposition all the " Powers of *Europe* made to the *Succession of Don* " *Carlos?*

" Yet still the *Spaniards* were eagerly desirous of " the *Italian Succession*; and though their Success had " hitherto been very unfortunate, They proposed " notwithstanding to obtain it at the Congress of " *Soissons*.

" They were convinced *this Nation* would never " surrender *Gibraltar*.

" And They consider'd we want nothing more " than a *Restitution of our Ships and Effects*, together " with an *open Commerce*.

" Therefore They attempted to effect their Inten- " tions, by making the *Succession* of *Don Carlos* an E- " quivalent for the Terms We desire.

" ALL *the Powers of Europe*, nay the *Imperialists* " themselves are, as I have shewed, obliged by In- " terest to *oppose that Project*; and as it delay'd and " perplex'd the Congress of *Cambray*, so it hath pro- " duced the same Litigation at *Soissons*.

" And in Truth it could not be otherwise; for it " will not be easy to persuade so many Powers to " consent *Spain* should carry this *Point*.

" Nor can the Court of *Madrid* be willing to re- " cede from a *Purpose* it hath prosecuted many Years " with the greatest Zeal and Application."

The same Kind of Arguments was likewise made use of *within Doors* by a *certain, honourable Gentle- man*, who hath had, for some Years, the principal Management of our Negotiations abroad. He assured us, with great Confidence, of the dangerous Designs of the *Queen of Spain*; that she was ambitious of making

making her *Son* ſole Monarch of *Lombardy*, and erecting an Empire in the Heart of *Italy*; with a great deal more to the ſame Effect.

If therefore the *Succeſſion of Don Carlos* was contrary to the Intereſts of all the Powers of *Europe* in *January* laſt; what Reaſon can be aſſign'd why it is otherwiſe *now?* — If it was *ſtrenuouſly oppos'd*, as ſuch, at the Congreſs of *Cambray*, and the laſt Aſſembly of the Congreſs at *Soiſſons*; how can we expect that it will not be oppos'd by the *ſame Powers*, and for the *ſame Reaſons*, at the *next Aſſembly?* — Or, if They could be all negotiated into *this Project* by the excellent Addreſs of our *Miniſters*; what Advantage would it be of to us, if theſe Arguments are valid? — Why ſhould we put our ſelves to much Trouble, or Expence, to procure the *Succeſſion* of *Tuſcany*, *&c.* for *Don Carlos*, as an *Equivalent* for *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, if his Poſſeſſion of the *former* will be *nearly the ſame* as our *giving up the latter*, and render them of *little Service to our* Mediterranean *Trade?*

For theſe Reaſons, I am inclined to give no Credit to the Account, which hath been lately publiſhed, that We have made any *Propoſals*, of this Kind, to the Court of *Spain*; which ſeem to be equally inconſiſtent with our *Schemes* and our *Intereſt*. It is the Part of *great Miniſters* to fix, with Judgment, on certain Points; which They ought to keep conſtantly in their Eye, and purſue with inflexible Steadineſs and Reſolution. Men, who are always changing their Counſels, and will ſuffer Themſelves to be diverted from their Deſigns by every little *Incident* that ſtarts up in their Way, or by the Deluſions and Procraſtinations of *falſe Friends*, will never ſucceed, unleſs it be by *Chance*; which is meer *Gaming in Politicks*, and putting the Fate of Kingdoms upon the *Caſt of a Dye*.

The great Point, which We ſeem to have had in View, during the Rupture, and the chief Term we now

now insist upon, besides Reparation to our *Merchants*, is the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; which I cannot help thinking we might have, long ago, obliged the *Spaniards* to comply with, (without any such *Equivalent* as would render the Possession of them *useless*) had it not been equally the *Design*, and for the *Advantage* of some *other Powers* to see them wrested out of our Hands; and if That be the Case, what rational Grounds can we have to expect that They will ever be so complaisant as to sacrifice their own *Interest* to *ours?*

I wish *some Gentlemen* would take the Pains, at this Time, attentively to review their favourite Book the *Enquiry*; in which They will find many bitter Sarcasms on *supine Indolence* and *Inactivity*; *on smooth Words without Meaning*, *Amusements of Congresses*, or *Embassies*, or *Negotiations*; *and on spending our whole Time in sending and receiving* FRUITLESS MESSAGES *backwards and forwards in such a critical Conjuncture*— I would particularly recommend to their serious Perusal the following *Questions*, which that *Author* hath drawn up (*p.* 110.) and tells us, that every *Briton* would have had a Right to ask them, had not our *Ministers* preferr'd *vigorous Measures of Self-Defence* to such *vain Amusements* and *Delusions*.

" Is This the Usage fit to be given to a brave and " considering People? Is This the Watchfulness of " *Those*, whose Duty it is to attend to every distant " View of Danger? Or do they think so meanly of " *Us* and the *whole Nation*, that we can *see* nothing " but what we *feel*; and that we have a Sense of *no* " *Evil* but what is *present*; or that we are so made " that a *little Expence* (He might have said a *great* " *Expence*) would affright us from preserving our *All*; " or reduced to so *low* a Condition of Poverty, that " we can't purchase, or furnish out even *Self-Defence* " to our selves? Were not *other* Princes and States " threaten'd by the same Danger; and ready to *unite*

" with

" with us? Muſt *our Fleet*, the *Glory* (as it is called) " of this Land, *lie ſtill* and *decay*, rather than be " made our *Bulwark?* Our *Fleet*, falſly called our " *Glory*, but indeed our *Shame*, whilſt it is laid aſide " as *uſeleſs*, at a Time when *That alone* might make " us look too formidable in *Europe*, to be *inſulted* or " *affronted?* Or, does even this *Expence*, which cir- " culates chiefly amongſt ourſelves, appear too for- " midable to a Nation, which Thoſe around it *envy*, " as the Centre of *Riches* and *Plenty?* But why do we " ſpeak of *Expence?* It is this Method of *Indolence* " and *Inactivity*, upon ſuch an Occaſion, which muſt " bring after it an *Expence* much greater in itſelf, and " much more hazardous in its Effect, as *Time* ſhall " add Strength to the Danger threaten'd; an *Expence*, " which muſt increaſe our *Debt* and, at the ſame " Time, *diminiſh the Hope of paying it.* What Ac- " count can we give of *ſuch a Treatment of this Na-* " *tion?* As we can find *none* in all the known Mea- " ſures of *political Prudence*, we muſt ſearch for it " *ſomewhere elſe.*—There muſt be *ſecret Reaſons* for " ſuch a Conduct; and perhaps *Theſe* may lie in the " *Riches of Spain*, ſuffer'd to *come ſafely home*, to " ſtrengthen and conſolidate the *moſt dangerous Con-* " *junction*, that ever yet appeared in *Europe.*

" This and much more (*ſays that eminent Writer*) " might *juſtly* be urged, upon the Suppoſition of a " *negligent* and *unactive Conduct* in this Criſis of *Dan-* " *ger*; and what *Reply* to make to it, I profeſs I " think it *utterly impoſſible to tell.*"

I can add nothing to This, Mr. *D'Anvers*, but that I heartily wiſh, for the Sake of the *Author*, it may not be interpreted into a *Libel.*

A

I am, SIR, &c.

W. RALEIGH.

N° 163. SATURDAY, *August* 16. 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

SIR,

IN my last, I sent you some Observations on the *Succession of Don Carlos to the Italian Dominions*; which is said to be one of the chief Terms of the projected Accommodation with *Spain*. I gave you my Reasons why I could not believe this Report to be true; particularly since it was represented, in *January* last, both *within Doors* and *without*, as an Expedient, which would make even the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* of *little Service* to us, and was contrary to the Interest of *all the Powers of Europe*, who strenuously oppos'd it at the Congresses of *Cambray* and *Soissons*. What powerful Charm hath been since made Use of to quell this general Opposition, I know not; but as the same Report continues and seems to gain Ground, I beg Leave to add a few more Thoughts on that Subject.

It was said, that the Conditions of this Accommodation with *Spain* would be *perfectly agreeable to the Allies of* Hanover, *but not to the* Emperor; and yet We were told, that the Reason why the Particulars were not immediately published was, *that the Court of* Spain *desired first to know the* Emperor's *Opinion about them*———But let That pass.

Though the unhappy Situation of our Affairs, for several Years past, may have made us so desirous of a *Peace*,

Peace, as to give up all the moſt conſiderable Advantages of *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar* for it; yet can it be ſuppoſed that *France* (which is one of the chief *Allies of Hanover*) will be eaſily induced to make the ſame Sacrifice, by yielding to a *Succeſſion*, which it hath long and juſtly oppoſed, if what hath been aſſerted is true, that it *will make* Don Carlos a *Match for Themſelves in* Lombardy? I hope it will not be thought incumbent upon *Us* to make the *French* an Equivalent for this Conceſſion, which is of it ſelf ſo very diſadvantageous to one of the chief Branches of our Commerce.

As to the *Emperor*, I muſt obſerve, that the Dominions of *Tuſcany* are declared, in the *Treaty of London*, to be a *maſculine Fief of the Empire*; and therefore the *Succeſſion* to them cannot be juſtly diſpos'd of without the Conſent of *Him* and the *States of the Empire*; eſpecially by *thoſe Powers*, who were Parties to *that Treaty* (I was going to ſay the *Projectors* of it) and became *Guaranties of the Neutrality of Italy*.

Nor can it be agreeable to his *Imperial Majeſty* to give his Conſent to this *Succeſſion*, if what is alledged, by the Writer before-mentioned, be true; *viz. that a Prince in Poſſeſſion of* Parma *and* Tuſcany, *aſſiſted by the Treaſures, the Fleets and Forces of* Spain, *might with the greateſt Eaſe ſubdue the* Auſtrian *Territories*, Sicily, Milan *and* Naples.

It will be ſaid, perhaps, that if We can accommodate Matters with *Spain*, in Concurrence with *France*, it will be of little Conſequence whether the Terms are agreeable to the *Emperor* or not; ſince He hath no Fleet to annoy our Trade, or to make any ſucceſsful Attempt upon *Great Britain*. We are indeed, as to *our ſelves*, happily ſituated out of his Reach and his Power; yet, in many other Reſpects, it may be our Intereſt (eſpecially at *this Time*) to cultivate his Friendſhip, and include Him in the *Peace*; which cannot be *laſting*, unleſs it be *general*, and made with

the Consent of *all Parties*; for if the *Emperor* should think fit to oppose the Succession of *Don Carlos*, by the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, (in Violation of the *Treaty of London*) We shall be obliged, by this suppos'd *Treaty*, to maintain it against Him; or if He should chuse to make any Attempt in *Germany* or *Flanders*, in Resentment for being thus left in the Lurch, We should find it very difficult to avoid being engaged in a War on that Account; and I leave it to be impartially consider'd whether the *French*, in such a Case, will not find ample Room to turn it to their Advantage; or whether *This* may not be one prevailing Motive with them to consent to the Succession of *Don Carlos*.

I have purposely avoided to say any Thing, concerning his Majesty's *German Dominions*, which ought not (according to the *Act of Settlement*) to involve *Great-Britain* in a War; and of every other State, except *France* and *Germany*, whose Interest it is to oppose *this Succession*. The only Point, which I have endeavoured to prove, is, that these supposed Measures, in Favour of *Don Carlos*, without the Consent of the *Emperor*, may involve us in more Trouble and Expence, by supporting Him in his Pretensions, than We should be exposed to by *vigorous Operations* against them.

But there is something still more extraordinary in this Account. During the *last Session*, it was confidently asserted, that We were in a fair Way of settling all Kinds of Differences with the *Emperor*. We have been since told, from Time to Time, how much *He* was disposed to *Peace*, and assured that *his Ministers* had Orders to act in Concert with *ours*, in order to bring the Court of *Spain* into the same Disposition; that all the *Difficulties* lay on *their Part*; whereas we are now told that They lay on the Part of the *Emperor*. I hope there is no collusive Understanding between *these two Courts*, or between *Them* and

and ſome of our *Allies*, in order to amuſe us; to gain ſtill more Time, and put us to farther Expence. But is it probable that the Court of *Vienna* would take any Pains to promote an Agreement between *Us* and *Spain*, ſo much to their *Diſſatisfaction* and *Diſadvantage?* Or that *We* ſhould think it adviſeable to reconcile our ſelves to *one Enemy*, by widening the Breach with *another*, who hath it in his Power to fruſtrate all the Advantages, which we may hope to receive from a *ſeparate Peace?*

I think This ſufficient, at preſent, with Relation to the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos*; which I ſhall conſider more at large, if what I have already offer'd ſhould be oppos'd by any Arguments, which deſerve an Anſwer.

There are indeed ſome Particulars of this pretended Account, which we have all poſſible Reaſon to expect will be ſoon confirmed; as *firſt*, that his *catholick Majeſty* will think fit to deliver out to the Proprietors, upon an *eaſy Indulto*, the Effects of the *Galleons* and *Azogues* Ships; in which the *French* are ſo conſiderably intereſted more than any other Nation, that We may be aſſured they will not be wanting in the ſtrongeſt Applications and Remonſtrances on that Head. *Secondly*, that *Spain* will be obliged to make us full and immediate Satisfaction for all their Depredations committed on our *Merchants*, as well as Reſtitution for all the Ships and Effects belonging to the *South-Sea Company*, which have been ſeized, during the Rupture. We have Reaſon, I ſay, to hope that this Part of the News is true; for our *Miniſters* will certainly never conſent to any *Treaty*, which does not ſecure this great Point to our *Merchants* and the *South-Sea* Company, in ſuch ſtrong and clear Terms as cannot be ſubject to any Diſputes and Chicanes at a future Congreſs; and it is to be wiſh'd, in the mean Time, that every *Colony* and *Plantation* would prepare Themſelves with a *Repreſentative* in *Great Britain*,

in order to give an Account of their Losses, and to receive the Satisfaction, which is to be made them by *this Treaty*.

But what gives me the strongest Suspicion of the Falsity of this Account in general, is, that no mention hath been made, in these Papers, of any Article for ascertaining our undoubted Right to the Possession of *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar*; and yet This is an Article, which we have the utmost Reason to expect and insist on in a *Treaty*, agreeable to the Sense of the whole Nation, as well as of both Houses of Parliament. You have said enough, Mr. *D'Anvers*, in former Papers, to shew that This is the Point, in which *Great-Britain* hath been principally concern'd, and that, as it hath already involv'd us in almost infinite Damages and Expences, nothing will quiet the just Apprehensions of the People about it, but a *full, particular* and *explicit Renunciation*, on the Part of *Spain*. It hath been said, indeed, that leaving it upon the Foot of the Treaty of *Utrecht* and other subsequent Treaties, which declare our Right to the Possession of those Places, will be sufficient; and so indeed it would, if the Right which we obtained by *those Treaties*, had not been since brought into Dispute by a LETTER from his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*, in the Year 1721; which, it hath been * acknowledged, *contains a Promise of its Restitution*. We are too well convinc'd, at least, that his *catholick Majesty* hath insisted very strenuously on *this Promise*; that He laid a vigorous Siege to *Gibraltar*, upon the Non-Execution of it; and that, to all outward Appearance, He seems still to insist on his Pretension, founded on *that Letter*. A *formal* and *specifick Renunciation* therefore, in this Case, seems to be absolutely necessary, and what the *British Nation* hath Reason to expect; especially if the Negotiations on Foot do not tend, as it is said, to

* *Vide* The *British Journal*, *Saturday January* 18*th*.

a *full* and *final Peace*, but only a *Truce*, or *Ceſſation of Hoſtilities for a certain Term of Years*.

But whatever current Fame may ſay, and however difficult it may be, at preſent, to form any Judgment of *theſe Negotiations*; we cannot but hope, (conſidering our *own Strength* and *great Expences*, as well as the *Power* and *Sincerity* of our *Allies*) that we ſhall ſoon have not only a *temporary, precarious Truce*, but a *firm, laſting* and *advantageous Peace*, which will at once *finally* determine all Diſputes and Differences, without leaving any Thing, except *Forms*, to be diſcuſſed in a *dilatory Congreſs*.

And we ſhall not want to be informed of This by common *News-Papers*, or *private Correſpondencies*; but it will appear viſibly in its *Effects*; by laying up our *Squadrons*; by an immediate Reduction of our *Troops at home*, and diſcharging *Thoſe*, which we have maintained for ſeveral Years *abroad*; by ſeeing our Trade freed from all the Interruptions and Vexations, with which we find, by daily Accounts, the *Spaniards* ſtill continue to moleſt it; and particularly by a ſpeedy Diminution of our *Expences*, and conſequently of our *Taxes*, which have been ſo long and ſo ſenſibly felt throughout the whole Kingdom.

I concluded my laſt Letter with a Quotation from the *Enquiry*; and I deſign to conclude This with a Quotation of much higher Authority; I mean, an Extract from his *late Majeſty*'s MEMORIAL, preſented by his Miniſter *Baron Bothmar* to Queen *Anne*, upon the *Negotiations of Peace* in the Year 1711.

" The Sentiments of his Electoral Highneſs on the " *Peace* and its Negotiation are; that the *Allies* have " Need not only of *poſitive Declarations*, but likewiſe " of *real Securities*; eſpecially having to do with an " *Enemy*, whoſe Methods of acting are well known. " This the former Preliminaries provided for, by ob- " liging *France* to give up previouſly ſome Places of " Security,

" Security. In *Theſe* there is neither any *real Secu-*
" *rity*, nor any *clear* and *diſtinct Declaration*. All is
" couch'd in *indefinite, general Terms*, which in Rea-
" lity *expreſs nothing*, and upon which Years might
" be ſpent in *negotiating*. It is left to be conſider'd
" which is the ſureſt Way to put a ſpeedy End to
" the War; whether by previouſly inſiſting on ſuch
" Conditions from *France*, that nothing may remain
" to be done in a *general Aſſembly*, but to give them
" the *Form of a Treaty*; or opening that Aſſembly upon
" *Articles*, that are *captious* and *obſcure*, which leave
" an open Field for *France* to put in Practice her uſual
" *Intrigues* and *Chicanes*.

I am, SIR, &c.

A. W. RALEIGH.

N° 164. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 23, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq*;

SIR,

NOtwithſtanding the juſt Contempt, that you have ſhewn for the Writings of your Adverſaries, (which are confeſſedly the moſt wretched, that ever appeared againſt any publick Writer;) I beg of you for once to indulge me in ſome Remarks on the *Britiſh Journal* of *Saturday* laſt; which contains ſuch extraordinary and very ſingular Obſervations on the preſent *Proſpect of Peace*, and the *Conduct of our Treaties abroad*, as ought to be much bet-

ter known, and communicated, farther than *that Paper* will be able to convey them.

I was apprehenſive that the Arguments, which I quoted, in a former Letter, from the *Britiſh Journal* of the 4th of *January* laſt, againſt the *Succeſſion of* Don Carlos *to the* Italian *Dominions*, would put the Author to the Trouble of a little Prevarication; and alas! my Apprehenſions have proved too well grounded! He hath done more than I could expect. He hath made as full and formal a *Recantation* of what he advanced, on this Subject, ſeven Months ago; as He did, about that Time, of what He had aſſerted juſt before, concerning the famous PROMISE to reſtore *Gibraltar*, and the Deſtruction of the *Spaniſh Fleet* in the *Mediterranean*; which He attempted unjuſtly to fix on the late Earls of *Sunderland* and *Stanhope*. In this Caſe, indeed, He hath acted ſomewhat more politickly; and endeavoured as much as poſſible to ſoften the Pangs, which commonly attend the ungrateful Office of *Recantation*, by employing another, who ſigns Himſelf *Thomas Potts*, to recant for Him. Who this *Tom. Potts* is, I know not; but He ſeems to be a Writer of the ſame unhappy Turn of Head with Mr. *Manley* Himſelf, and hath dropt ſeveral Things, with the ſame Inadvertency, in the Execution of his Truſt, which I am afraid will require *another Recantation*.

He begins (in my Opinion, a little too ſoon) with Exultation, and ſings *Te Deum* on the Aſſurances of a *Peace*. He tells us *that the* Briton *and the* Spaniard *have again embraced in Leagues of uſeful Friendſhip*; *that all* unaccountable Allyances *and every* unnatural Combination *have found their Period*; *that the* Ocean *ſmiles with Safety*; *that now the* Merchant *finds a ſure Return of Treaſure*; *that* Peace *is purchas'd without the Expence of Blood*; (I wiſh he could ſay without any *other Expence*;) *that the Gates of* Janus *ſoon will ſhut, and the Ports of* Commerce *open*.

I heartily wish that all This may prove as *true*, as it is *florid* and *pathetick*; for I should be very sorry that so desirable a Prospect (*the like of which*, says Mr. *Potts*, *we have not had for many Years*) should prove either a *past*, or a *distant Prospect*; and it is my particular Desire that *all unaccountable Allyances and every unnatural Combination may find their Period.*

Nay, He goes farther; and tells us, that he hath *Authority for his Voucher.* What Authority? Why, the *London Gazette*, it seems, informs us that Mr. *Keene*, our Minister at the Court of *Spain*, *hath return'd the* DRAUGHT *of a Treaty, settled by the Concurrence of their* catholick Majesties *and the Ministers of the* Hanover *Allies. This Treaty*, says He, *must surely have been warranted by previous Instructions from the* Principals *of those Ministers.* Very likely; *and being now sent to the several Powers for their formal Approbation, can meet with* no Difficulties, Objections, *or* Delays. Why so, Mr. *Potts?* Was not the *preliminary Treaty*, for opening the Congress of *Soissons*, *settled by the Concurrence of their* catholick *Majesties with the Ministers of the* Hanover *Allies?* Is it not equally *sure that* that Treaty *must have been warranted by the* Principals *of those Ministers?* And yet did it not meet with very great *Difficulties*, *Objections* and *Delays?* What Reason therefore can we have to promise our selves so very confidently that the *Treaty*, now supposed to be in Agitation, will have better Luck?

But We will grant Mr. *Potts* this *Postulatum*, and allow *that*, *in all Probability*, *Orders will immediately be sent to carry it into Execution.* Yet I hope we may be permitted to defer our *Rejoycings* and *Congratulations*, till We know what this *Draught of a Treaty* contains; for though it must be confessed that We stand in very great Need of a *Peace*, and are very desirous of one, it is a *good Peace* that We stand in Need of and desire. No Body, I believe, imagines that even their *Catholick* and *Imperial* Majesties are so very obstinate

obſtinate and inveterate againſt us, as to refuſe us a Peace on their *own Terms*. We are well aſſured, that We might have had *ſuch a Peace* long ago; and, no doubt of it, We may ſtill. But what We expect and have been often promis'd, is an *honourable* and *advantageous Peace*; which We have more Reaſon to expect at preſent, becauſe We have been at a vaſt Expence of *Treaſure* and *Patience*, though not of *Blood*, to procure it. The great Point therefore to be conſider'd, is, not whether any *Treaty* is in Agitation, or even agreed upon; but what the *Terms* of that Treaty are; and yet This is a Point, about which We have been hitherto kept intirely in the Dark.

It hath indeed been generally reported, and ſeems to be owned by Mr. *Potts*, (who hath, perhaps, ſome *Authority*, or *Inſtructions*, to own it) that the Introduction of a large Body of *Spaniſh* Troops into *Italy*, to ſecure the Succeſſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia* for the Infant *Don Carlos*, is actually one Article of it. I gave you my Reaſons, Mr. *D'Anvers*, why I could not at firſt believe this Account to be true; particularly becauſe it was aſſerted, by the Authors of the *Enquiry* and the *Britiſh Journal*, that *Don Carlos* was a very formidable, young Prince, and threaten'd *Europe* with univerſal Monarchy; that all the Powers of *Europe* (and eſpecially *Great Britain*) were engaged in Intereſt to oppoſe *this Succeſſion*, and would never be brought to conſent to it; but now, it ſeems, Things are altered, and We are bleſſed with a *great Revolution in Politicks*. For my Part, I think We have had nothing elſe, for ſeveral Years paſt, but *Revolutions in Politicks*; that is, a great Variety of *different Counſels*, *Allyances* and *Expedients*; but whether This is owing to *political Wiſdom*, or to a certain *Revolution of Brains* in ſome Men, which is apt to make them grow giddy and fantaſtick, I muſt leave the World to determine.

It is upon this Account that Mr. *Potts*, the great Writer now before me, undertakes to *apologize* for the Author of the *Enquiry*, and to *recant* for the Author of the *British Journal*.

He acquaints us that *the Author of the* Enquiry, *when He writ that Dissertation on our publick Affairs, was greatly apprehensive of the* Spanish *Ambition*. For what Reason?——You shall hear. *He saw the* Emperor and *most Christian King without* Male Issue.—Are they not still in the same Case?—*He knew the present Prince of* Asturias *was a Youth of a* sickly Constitution.—Hath Mr. *Potts* any authentic Account that his *Constitution* is alter'd?—— *And though He knew not how far the Queen of* Spain *might carry her Views, yet He fear'd, and He thinks with much Reason, she would not fail to make all possible Advantages of the* fortunate Contingencies *He mention'd.*——Is it not probable that she hath still the *same Views*; that she will still endeavour to make the *same Advantages*; and are not all these *fortunate Contingencies* still equally in the Power of Fate?

However (says Mr. *Potts*) *it hath happen'd very fortunately for* Europe, *that the Marriage of* Don Carlos *with the* eldest, Imperial Arch-Dutchess *hath never been effected* —— Have we any solid Reason to believe that such a Thing was ever in Agitation?—*The Prince of* Asturias *is* still *like to live*; which implies that He was *like to live before*; at least, *there is still but* one Life (as the *Enquiry* asserted) *between* Don Carlos *and the Crown of* Spain, *after the Death of the present King.*——*And the* French King *may soon have a* Dauphin; so He might, when the *Enquiry* was written, for aught that Writer knew. *No*, says He, *she is advanced to the ninth Month of her Pregnancy*; but is He sure that she will be delivered of a *Dauphin?* Or, if she should, that He will live to succeed his Father?—*So that the Power of* Don Carlos (as Mr. *Potts* observes) *hath daily decreased, and at present is much less alarming*;

alarming; but for what Reasons, I cannot possibly apprehend.

Thus much for the Author of the *Enquiry*. I now come to his Fellow-Labourer, the Author of the *British Journal*; for whom Mr. *Potts* does not pretend to *apologize*, but *recant*. He does it indeed with an Air of Triumph, in Imitation of his *Masters*, at the same Time that he is *doing Penance* and *taking Shame* to his Party.

He hath the Assurance to tell us that a *certain, despairing Faction* (who, by the way, have no Manner of Reason to *despair*, in this Writer's Sense) *endeavour to throw Obstacles in the Way, and insinuate that the Infant* Don Carlos *is a Prince we must never support in the* Tuscan *Succession, nor establish in* Italy.——In the Name of common Modesty, who insinuated and maintained this Doctrine first? Did not the Author of the *Enquiry* insinuate it almost three Years ago, by representing *Don Carlos* in so formidable a Light? Did not Mr. *Manley* assert it in plain Terms, no longer ago than *January* last? And did not *another profound Gentleman* maintain it, about the same Time, in a *publick Assembly?* I wonder Mr. *Potts* would not be so kind as to *apologize*, or *recant*, for *this Gentleman*, as well as for his *two Friends* and *Coadjutors*.

But the Treaty of London, *that most solemn Compact, hath expressly tyed us down to this Article.* How then came we to oppose it at the Congresses of *Cambray* and *Soissons?* Mr. *Potts* hath helped out his Friend at a dead Lift, and tells Him *that He may readily answer the* Craftsman *upon this Head. Tell Him* (says He) *what was strenuously opposed at the Congress of* Cambray *and in the last Assembly at* Soissons, *for* very bad Reasons, *is now agreed to, for* good ones, *by the same Parties in the present Assembly*——Very laconick and conclusive!——But who were *those Persons*, who retarded the *Peace*, and consequently plunged us into *farther Expence*, by opposing this Succession for

very bad Reasons; and what were these *very bad Reasons?* I hope They were no *British Ministers*, who acted in this Manner; because the Nation might expect, in such a Case, that They should be called to Account and brought to Justice. I should likewise be glad to know what those *good Reasons* are, which have induced us to give up this *strenuous Opposition*; because our Malecontents may conclude one of the chief Reasons to be, that *some Persons* find They cannot procure a *Peace*, (which is absolutely necessary to their Affairs upon *any Terms*) without consenting to this Condition of establishing *Don Carlos* in *Italy*; and that their *Advocates* are obliged to follow them through all their *Inconsistencies* and *Contradictions*.—— I am afraid therefore that Mr. *Potts* hath exceeded his Commission, by asserting that this Opposition was influenced by *very bad Reasons*.

But farther; did the Treaty of *London* tye us down to execute this Article by the Introduction of 12,000 *Spanish Troops?* On the contrary, did it not stipulate that no *Spanish Troops*, nor any Troops in *Spanish Pay* should be sent into *Italy* for this End, but all *neutral Troops*, and Those not to exceed the Number of 6,000 Men? Besides, these Dominions being *Fiefs of the Empire*, his Imperial Majesty cannot give them up, without the Consent of the *Germanick Body*, which must create farther Delays and Procrastinations.

The Recanter, Mr. *Potts*, tells his Friend, Mr. *Manley*, *it must certainly be owned, even by his best Friends* (*in whose Number He is one*) *that He made* England *an Enemy to the Succession of* Don Carlos; *and did not give us Reasons, whose Weight could determine indifferent Men to the same Opinion.*—Truly, Mr. *Manley* is apt to deal very much in *Reasons* and *Arguments*, which have *no Weight with indifferent Men*. However, since this *great Revolution in Politicks* hath obliged him to retract his *former Reasons*, and turn quite about to the other Side, as his *Patrons* seem to have done,

done, it would be inhuman to preſs Him any farther on this Point; tho' I muſt put him in Mind that I am afraid he has no Right to the common Apology of *eccleſiaſtick Writers*; *erravi cum* PATRIBUS; unleſs it be with the FATHER *of all* political *Lyes*.

I ſhall not, at preſent, examine the Reaſons, which Mr. *Potts* hath brought to ſhew that his Friend, Mr. *Manley*, was egregiouſly miſtaken; and that the *Succeſſion* of *Don Carlos* is ſo far from being *near the ſame as giving up* Gibraltar *and* Port-Mahon, *that, in Truth*, Britain *hath no Intereſt againſt it*; I ſay, I ſhall not examine This now; becauſe taking it for granted that We have no Intereſt to oppoſe *this Succeſſion*, if all the Powers of *Europe*, who joined with us in the Oppoſition at *Cambray* and *Soiſſons*, for *very bad Reaſons*, would now conſent to it for theſe *good ones*; yet I muſt take the Liberty to be of Opinion that it cannot be adviſeable for us to undertake this Affair, without the Conſent of *Germany*, or *France*, or any other Power, which is able to diſturb it; and yet This ſeems to be the Scheme, as repreſented by Mr. *Potts*; who tells us *that the* Spaniards *have Reaſon to ſuſpect the Sincerity of the* Imperialiſts *and the* French, *as Guaranties, becauſe Both are intereſted againſt the Affair*, (though He told us juſt before, that *Spain had purchaſed* Tuſcany *of the* Emperor *at a very great Expence*) and *that the* Britiſh *Fleet muſt effect theſe great Ends*. Now, if the *Emperor* and the *French* are *intereſted* againſt this Project, is it not probable that They may think fit to *oppoſe* it? And if They ſhould, the *Execution* of it (which is to be our Part) may involve us in a *bloody* and *conſuming War*, inſtead of procuring us a *firm* and *advantageous Peace*.

But, ſays Mr. *Potts*, *the* Spaniards *would never have given us a* Peace, *without an* Equivalent. An *Equivalent* for what? For a *Peace?* Will not a *Peace* be of *mutual* Advantage; and have not We more Reaſon to expect an *Equivalent* from *Them* for all the *Ex-*

pences we have been already at, and the *infinite Damages* we have ſuſtain'd? What have we done to deſerve to be uſed in this Manner, for ſo many Years together, and at laſt not to have a *Peace* given us without an *Equivalant?*

Mr. *Potts* advances in his *Politicks*; and undertakes to ſhew *that* Europe *cannot be endangered by the Project of this Succeſſion.* Pray obſerve Him.

The Emperor, France *and* Spain (ſays He) *are the three great Powers, whom we muſt* ballance *and keep in a State of Equality.* I am really quite ſick of that Word *Ballance*; but let Him go on.

Spain *is undoubtedly the* weakeſt *of the Three; hath leſs Force, by* Sea, *or by* Land; *and this Addition in her Favour is ſtill too ſmall to turn the Scale; nay, it rather gives Her a proper Weight.* Undoubtedly, Mr. *Potts*, you are quite in the Wrong in this Poſition. *Spain* is not the *weakeſt of the Three*; not weaker than the *Emperor*, by *Sea* at leaſt; and whether the vaſt Riches of the *Indies* do not put Her upon a Par at *Land*, I leave to be conſider'd. But ſuppoſing This likewiſe to be true, the *Succeſſion of Don Carlos* will not be *any Addition in her Favour*; *will give her no Weight*; at leaſt, it ought not, according to the *Treaty of London*, that *moſt ſolemn Compact*, which provides that none of the *Dutchies*, in Diſpute, *ſhall be ever poſſeſſed by any Prince, who is at the ſame Time King of* Spain; *and that no King of* Spain *ſhall take upon Him the Guardianſhip of ſuch a Prince.*

But there is ſtill ſomething more extraordinary in this Project; *for if* (ſays our Author) *ſhe ſhould preſume to break the Bounds of Power in* Italy, *there are formidable Princes will riſe in Oppoſition*; *perhaps* OUR SELVES. So that, according to Him, We ought to be always *doing* and *undoing*, and be content with ſubſiſting upon *Patch-work, Expedients* and *Revolutions in Politicks.*

Mr.

Mr. *Potts* tells Mr. *Manley*, by way of Comfort, that *such Arguments as his might induce us to delay this Affair* (of the *Succession*) *in the Congress of* Cambray, *as we did between* two *and* three *Years*; *but what was the Consequence? As the* British *Nation demurred to its* own Treaties, *so we flung* Spain *altogether on the* Emperor. *Hence ensued all our* Difficulties; *and This was so fatal to our Interests, it might well teach us* BETTER POLITICKS.

This Paragraph contains either an *Absurdity*, an *Inconsistency*, or an *unlucky, blundering Concession* in every Line; for,

1. If the Affair of the *Tuscan Succession* was in no wise contrary to the Interest of *Great Britain*, why should *such Arguments as Mr.* Manley's *induce us*, for a Moment, *to demur to our* own Treaties *at the Congress of* Cambray?

2. Here is an express Charge against *Those in Power*, that it was their *Non-observance* (I will not say *Violation*) *of Treaties, which threw* Spain *into the Arms of the* Emperor; that *all our Difficulties have ensued from hence*; and that We have been, for several Years past, engaged in a Course of *bad Politicks*; for otherwise what Occasion have We to learn *better?* And if it be true, that we have pursued *bad Politicks*, are not *some Persons* answerable for them? Or can we be secure that they are now pursuing *better?* This is one of the *Concessions*, which I am afraid will require a *Recantation*; and I hope Mr. *Manley* will in Gratitude undertake this Office for Mr. *Potts*, as Mr. *Potts* did for *Him*.

He continues his *Exultations*, very unhappily, in the following Manner. *I look on this* happy Turn of Affairs, *as one of the best good Fortunes, which could befall this Nation.*

In this Manner is the British Glory *once more recover'd, and our* native Independency *restor'd. Here was the* Master-string, *and This We have touch'd with Success.*

Is not This a plain Confeſſion that the *Britiſh Glory* and our *native Independency* have been *loſt* for ſome Time, as ſome ill-diſpoſed Malecontents have inſinuated? I hope, however, that they are now fully *recover'd* and *reſtor'd*, as Mr. *Potts* aſſures us; and that this Paragraph may not furniſh Him with more Matter for *Recantation*.

The *Tuſcan Succeſſion*, it ſeems, *is the* Maſter-ſtring, *and This We have touch'd with Succeſs*; but is it not ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſuch *able*, *experienc'd Artiſts*, as We are bleſs'd with, ſhould not find out *this String* before, and touch it with the ſame Succeſs; which would have ſaved us ſeveral Millions of Expence? It is well known that the Queen of *Spain* hath pointed out *this String* to us, and harp'd upon it for ſeveral Years. What therefore can Mr. *Potts* mean by triumphing in this Manner? Surely, it does not require any great Reach in Politicks to hit upon an *Expedient*, which hath been propos'd, diſcuſs'd and inſiſted upon for ſo many Years together!

I ask Pardon, Mr. *D'Anvers*, for giving you ſo much Trouble about a *Letter*, which ſufficiently expoſes itſelf wherever it is read; but my Deſign is, as I told you before, to make the World more generally acquainted with the monſtrous *Inconſiſtencies*, *Contradictions* and *Tergiverſations* of a *certain*, *deſpairing Faction*, who ſubſiſt only from Day to Day, upon little *Shifts*, *Subterfuges* and *Expedients*. I would not therefore have you think that my Time hath been intirely thrown away in this Examination; for ridiculous as their Arguments may ſeem, and generally are, They often give us an Opportunity of explaining *Points*, which it might not be proper for *Us* to open our ſelves. I am ſure, it would not have been altogether ſafe for *You*, or *Me*, to bring ſuch heavy Accuſations againſt *ſome Men in Power*, as this Writer hath done, under Pretence of juſtifying them; that They have been purſuing *bad Politicks*; that They *demurr'd to*

their own Treaties; that They have retarded the Peace for *very bad Reasons*, and been the Authors of all our *Difficulties*; that They suffer'd the *British Glory* and our *native Independency* to be lost; with several other grievous Charges of the like Nature; I say, such Assertions would prove very dangerous from *You*; though it seems somewhat extraordinary, in a *free Country*, that the very same Things should intitle *some Men* not only to *Impunity*, but *Encouragement* and *Protection*, which would draw upon *others* the Inconveniencies of *Warrants*, *Informations* and *expensive Prosecutions*.

However, Mr. *D'Anvers*, let them *argue*, *recant*, *insult* and *blunder* on, as long and as often as They please. You have certainly a Right, as long as the *Liberty of the Press* continues, to *answer* and *expose* them; which is the most considerable Advantage that accrues from *their Writings*.

I am, SIR, &c.

A. W. RALEIGH.

N° 165. SATURDAY, *August* 30, 1729.

A DIALOGUE between Sir GEORGE FREEMAN a Country Gentleman, and TIMOTHY SHALLOW Esq; a modern Town Whig, on the present State of Affairs

Mr. *Shallow*.

SIR *George*, your humble Servant. You are welcome to Town.

Sir *George*. Your humble Servant, Mr. *Shallow*. I am glad to see you.

Mr. *S*. Why, you are grown a meer country Gentleman, Sir *George*. I don't remember that;

that I have ſeen you in Town before theſe three Years.

Sir *G.* No, Sir; and I ſhould not have been here now, if ſome Buſineſs of Conſequence had not brought me up.

Mr. *S.* Why, you always uſed, Sir *George*, to ſpend three or four Months here in the Winter.

Sir *G.* Yes, Sir, when I was in *Parliament*, I always attended the *Seſſion*; for I looked upon it as a Breach of Truſt to leave the County, which did me the Honour to chuſe me, *unrepreſented*.

Mr. *S.* I have been told, Sir, that you might have been in *Parliament* ſtill, if you had thought fit. What made you decline it?

Sir *G.* I had ſome particular Reaſons, Sir, which I deſire to keep to myſelf. I can only tell you, that if I could have been of any Service to my Country, I ſhould not have declined it.

Mr. *S.* Nay, Sir *George*, I know you to be a Man of ſtrict Honour, and every Body is convinced of it; but you was out of Humour with ſome Gentlemen in Power, and did not approve of their Meaſures.

Sir *G.* Sir, I had no perſonal Diſguſt to any of them; but I hope, every *Engliſhman* hath a Right to judge of *publick Affairs*.

Mr. *S.* No doubt on't, Sir *George*; but I believe you will allow that the beſt Men may be ſometimes miſtaken in their Judgment.

Sir *G.* I do, Sir; and ſhould be glad to be convinced that I was ſo myſelf.

Mr. *S.* I remember, Sir, when we were laſt together, you expreſſed ſome Diſlike of our Allyance with *France*.

Sir *G.* It is in the Power of our *Superiors* to make what Allyances They pleaſe; and we are obliged to ſubmit to them; but for my own Part, I confeſs, I was in ſome Pain about the *Sincerity* of that Nation, after the Experience, which we have had of their

Faith

Faith, and the *natural Hatred*, which They are known to bear to us.

Mr. *S.* Well, Sir, but I hope you are now convinc'd that your Apprehenſions were groundleſs.

Sir *G.* Really, Sir, I ſhould be very glad to be convinced of it; but as yet I can ſee no Reaſon to alter my Opinion.

Mr. *S.* Lord! Sir, han't you heard the *good News* then?

Sir *G.* What *good News*, Mr. *Shallow?*

Mr. *S.* Why, that all Matters are made up, and that a *Peace* is as good as concluded.

Sir *G.* We have read a great Deal, in the News Papers, of Mr. *Bannieres*'s Journeys, and of *another Gentleman's* Negotiations with *Cardinal Fleury*; but I don't find that *all Matters are yet made up*, or that a *Peace is as good as concluded.*

Mr. *S.* No, Sir? Pray, did not you read the *Gazette* of *Saturday* the 9th Inſtant, which tells us, that a Meſſenger was arrived from *Spain* with the *Draught of a Treaty?*

Sir *G.* Yes, Sir, and what then?

Mr. *S.* What then, Sir? Why is it not plain from hence, that Matters are brought to a great *Forwardneſs?*

Sir *G.* I hope they are; for I am ſure it is high Time that they ſhould; but I think no great Conſequences can be drawn from the *Draught of a Treaty*, before it is ſign'd, and we know what it contains. You cannot be ignorant, Sir, that We have had ſeveral *Draughts of Treaties* within theſe four or five Years paſt, which have come to little or nothing.

Mr. *S.* Ay, Sir, but I can aſſure you the People *above* are very ſanguine of *this Treaty*, and look exceedingly brisk upon it.

Sir *G.* Nay, Sir, if That be the Caſe, there muſt, no Doubt, be ſomething in it more than ordinary—I ſuppoſe then the Fleet at *Spithead* is now laid up.

Mr,

Mr. *S.* O, no Sir, That might ſpoil all.

Sir *G.* How ſo, pray?

Mr. *S.* Why you know, Sir, that the preſent Queen of *Spain* is a very turbulent, ambitious Woman, and hath ſet her Heart, for many Years paſt, upon fixing her Son *Don Carlos* in *Italy*. Now I don't know what the Devil poſſeſs'd us, but *We* have all along oppos'd this Succeſſion very ſtrenuouſly, in Conjunction with *all the chief Powers of Europe*, out of a falſe Notion that it would intirely deſtroy our *Mediterranean Trade*, and render *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar* of little, or no Service. Nay, Sir, We went farther, and dreamt terrible Dreams that *Don Carlos* might, one Time or other, become *univerſal Monarch*, and bring all *Europe*, *Proteſtants* as well as *Papiſts*, under his Yoke. But at laſt We have learn'd *better Politicks*. We have found that *this Succeſſion* will have quite *contrary Effects* from what We idly imagined; and therefore we ſhall oppoſe it no longer for *very bad Reaſons*. *This was the* Maſter-ſtring, *and* This *we have touch'd with Succeſs.*——

Sir *G.* Well, Sir, but you was going to tell me why the Fleet at *Spithead* was not laid up.

Mr. *S.* Why, Sir, that Fleet is to have the Honour of putting this great Project in Execution; by which Means we ſhall again become the *Diſpoſer of Kingdoms and the Arbiter of Europe*.

Sir *G.* So that inſtead of oppoſing *this Succeſſion*, as we have done for ſeveral Years together, we are to do all in our Power to eſtabliſh it?

Mr. *S.* Yes, Sir; and to maintain it, when it is eſtabliſhed.

Sir *G.* And pray, Sir, are we to do all This at our *own Expence?*

Mr. *S.* Nay, as to That, I can ſay nothing yet; but we may be ſure that our *Miniſters* have made the *beſt Terms* they could for us.

Sir

Sir *G.* No Doubt of it, Sir; but how is this Project reliſhed by *all the chief Powers of* Europe, who joined with us in *oppoſing* it?

Mr. *S.* What ſignifies how they reliſh it, ſince we can do it without them? There may be Reaſons, perhaps, to make us ſuſpect that the *French* are not ſincere in it, becauſe they are *intereſted* againſt it; but They are our *Friends*, and will do any Thing to ſerve us. As for the *Emperor*, He will be bloodily provoked, no doubt, to ſee ſuch a formidable Neighbour ſettled in *Italy*, without his Conſent; but He can't help Himſelf, and nobody will aſſiſt Him in oppoſing it.

Sir *G.* I am afraid We are not abſolutely ſure of That. However, we had Hopes given us, laſt Winter, and in the Spring, that his *Imperial* Majeſty was inclinable to an Accommodation, and our Language towards *that Court* viſibly alter'd; but now I perceive it is become the Faſhion again to call him Names, and exaſperate the Nation againſt Him.

Mr. *S.* Sir, it is no more than what He deſerves; for He hath been a very ungrateful Prince to *Us*, conſidering what We have done for Him; but We ſhall be even with Him now by this Accommodation with *Spain*. The *Succeſſion* of *Don Carlos* will clip his Wings, and make even *Naples* and *Sicily* ſhake.

Sir *G.* Nay, Sir, We have been told in ſome of the publick Papers, that the Queen of *Spain* begins already to grow upon us in her Demands, and, not content with *Tuſcany* and *Parma* for her Son, inſiſts that either the Kingdom of *Naples*, or *Sicily*, ſhould be added to them.

Mr. *S.* Egad! with all my Heart. The *Emperor* can't be too much humbled. 'Twill teach Him better Politicks another Time.

Sir *G.* Sir, I am no Advocate for the *Emperor*; but I hope we ſhall not do Things for *Spain* now, out of Revenge to the *Emperor*, which a Regard for ourſelves

ſelves will oblige us to undo, if we can, in a Year or two.

Mr. *S.* We muſt run the Riſque of That. *Power is always fluctuating*; and therefore *it is our Duty to vary our Apprehenſions and Counſels, according to the Appearances of Things.*

Sir *G.* In my Opinion, Sir, Theſe are ſtrange Politicks; which only patch up Matters for a while, and keep us in a State of conſtant Dependency and Expence. I was in Hopes that the *general Tranquility* of *Europe* was to be re-eſtabliſhed by theſe Negotiations; but I find, by your Diſcourſe, that We are to expect at beſt only a *Piece of a Peace.*

Mr. *S. Half a Loaf*, you know, *is better than no Bread.* A Peace with *Spain* is what we ſtand moſt in Need of; and I doubt not that the other Powers will come in by Degrees; but We muſt have Patience. *Rome was not built in a Day.*

Sir *G.* No, Sir; nor deſtroyed in a Day; though *pulling down* is much eaſier Buſineſs than *building up.*— But I hope, at leaſt, that *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* are to be ſecured to us, by *this Treaty*, beyond all Diſpute, as an *Equivalent* for all theſe very liberal Conceſſions to *Spain.*

Mr. *S.* Secur'd to us, Sir? Why han't we Poſſeſſion of them, and can't We maintain them as We have done already?

Sir *G.* Yes, Sir; but you know that We have been at a great Expence in maintaining and defending them. I mean that the King of *Spain* will be obliged, by *this Treaty*, to make a *formal Renunciation* of all Right, or Pretenſions whatſoever to thoſe Places; ſo that we may enjoy them quietly for the future, without any Moleſtation, or Interruption of Commerce.

Mr. *S.* Lord! Sir, I wonder that a Man of your good Senſe ſhould talk in ſuch a Manner! This is exactly the common Cant of our *Malecontents* in Town.

Sir

Sir *G.* I can't help That, Sir. But, pray, what Reasons may you complaisant Gentlemen, on the *other Side*, have against such a *Renunciation?*

Mr. *S.* Why, Sir, it is ridiculous. As long as *Don Carlos* is in Possession of *Tuscany*, *Spain* will consent to our Possession of those Places, because it is her *Interest*. When *That* ceases, the *longest Sword* must decide it; and what Good will a *Form of Words* do us in such a Case?

Sir *G.* This Argument, if I mistake not, will hold equally strong against all *Treaties* and *Conventions* in general. It is too true, indeed, that Princes are apt to make *Treaties*, and observe them no longer than it is for their *Interest*; but if This was always the Case, it would be ridiculous to make any *Treaties* at all, which consist only of a certain *Form of Words*. For Example, what is the *Treaty*, which is now said to be agreed on, but a *Form of Words*; and is it not as ridiculous to insist upon *one Form of Words* as upon *another?* For my Part, therefore, I think We may as justly insist, and as safely depend on a *formal Concession* of *Gibraltar*, as upon any other *formal Stipulation* whatsoever.

Mr. *S.* I have not said that the *present Treaty* does not contain any such Article; but only that it does not seem necessary.

Sir *G.* Nay, Sir, you said it was *ridiculous* to expect it.

Mr. *S.* Well, Sir, perhaps our *Ministers* may descend so far *ad Captum Populi*, as to obtain an Article to this Purpose.

Sir *G.* I hope They will be so good; for let me tell you, Sir, that as little as *some Persons* seem to regard the Generality of the People, *wise Ministers* have always found it worth their while to consult their *Interests* and *Inclinations*. I doubt not therefore that the *Gentlemen* now at the Helm will insist upon a *full*, *formal* and *specifick* Renunciation of *Gibraltar* and

Port-Mahon; which is so much the Interest of the *People*, and so justly expected by them.

Mr. *S.* We shall see That, Sir, when the *Articles* of the Treaty are published by *Authority*.

Sir *G.* In the mean Time, I have but one Thing more to observe upon this Head. At the beginning of our Conversation, you was pleased to insinuate that my Apprehensions of the Sincerity of *France* were groundless; and I thought that you were going to prove it; but I can't remember that you have said any thing, through the whole Course of the Argument, which so much as tends towards clearing up this Point.

Mr. *S.* Why, Sir, have the *French* deserted us, or receded from any of their Engagements?

Sir *G.* I don't say that They have *deserted* us; but what have they done for us? Did They give us any Assistance (as we were promised They would) during the Siege of *Gibraltar*? Have They borne any Part of the vast Expence, which we have been at, in sending out *Fleets*? Did They help us to this Expedient of the *Tuscan Succession*; or will They assist us in the *Execution* of it? No; you said that it was a *Child of our own*, and that we are to bring it to Maturity. Perhaps, you will say that They will sit still and suffer us to do it without Opposition, for the Sake of *Peace*; but are you sure that there is not a *Snake in the Grass*, and that They may not at last turn it to their Advantage?

Mr. *S.* These are all *Suppositions* only. I am sensible, indeed, that the *French Allyance* is a very *tender Point*; and that it is unpopular to argue in its Defence; but what could we do, at the Time of the *Hanover Treaty*, without them?

Sir *G.* If *Treaties* are only *Forms of Words*, and not to be depended on, I think We had much better have had *no Allyance at all*.

Mr.

Mr. *S.* Nay now, Sir *George*, you harp too much upon *that Expreſſion*. I meant it only with Regard to *Renunciations*.

Enter a Servant.

Ser. Sir, Dinner waits upon Table.

Mr. *S.* Sir *George*, pray walk in. We'll talk more of This after Dinner. *N.*

N° 166. SATURDAY, *September* 6, 1729.

The DIALOGUE between Sir GEORGE FREEMAN and TIMOTHY SHALLOW Eſq; continued.

Mr. *Shallow.*

WELL, Sir *George*, though we are of different Opinions, concerning the Manner of our late Negotiations, I hope you will agree with me, in general, that *Peace* is preferable to *War*.

Sir *G.* O, yes, infinitely, Sir; provided we can obtain it upon honourable Terms and a laſting Foundation. Such a *Peace* is always deſireable, and eſpecially at this Time, when the long Interruption of our foreign Commerce, and the Stagnation of domeſtick Trade, the grievous Loſſes of our Merchants, the daily Declenſion of our Manufactures, and the heavy Taxes, which We already labour under, have almoſt incapacitated us to ſupport any farther Expences.

Mr. *S.* And yet there is a *Faction* amongſt us, who do all in their Power to obſtruct the Negotiations of

Peace, and endeavour to precipitate the Miniſtry into a *War*.

Sir *G.* If there are any *ſuch Perſons*, they deſerve univerſal Abhorrence; but I hope you don't mean *Thoſe*, who prefer a *juſt War* to a *precarious* and *diſadvantageous Peace*; though I find it is grown the Faſhion to brand ſuch Principles with the Name of *Faction*.

Mr. *S.* But you ſay We are not able to go to *War*. If That be the Caſe, we muſt e'en take up with ſuch a *Peace* as we can get.

Sir *G.* I ſaid, Sir, that our *Misfortunes* and *Loſſes*, our *Expences*, *Taxes*, and *Anticipations* had almoſt incapacitated us to ſupport a *War*; I mean with any Degree of Eaſe to the Generality of the People. But when the Contention is *pro Aris & Focis*, we muſt ſubmit to any Hardſhips, rather than ſuffer our Country to be intirely ruin'd; and let me tell you, Sir, that as bad as our Condition is at preſent, it will grow worſe every Day, whilſt Affairs continue in the *ſame Suſpence*; for as we were much better able to enter into a War *three* or *four* Years ago, than we are now, ſo we ſhall find our ſelves leſs able the longer we defer it.

Mr. *S.* What therefore would you have done? You tell us that a *War* would be a grievous and almoſt inſupportable Evil; and yet ſeem diſſatisfied with all our *pacifick Meaſures*.

Sir *G.* I am heartily ſorry, that we are brought under ſuch a *Dilemma*; but we muſt work our ſelves out of it as well as we can. I hope the *Treaty* in Agitation contains all the neceſſary Terms of a *good Peace*; and that it will preſerve us from the great Diſtreſſes of a *War*, by taking Effect; but if the Powers concerned ſhould endeavour to trifle with us any longer, by ſtarting new Difficulties, or creating farther Delays, I think it abſolutely expedient for the Safety and Honour of a brave Nation, to make one hearty Effort for themſelves,

ſelves, whilſt their Strength and Vigour are not yet intirely exhauſted.

Mr. *S.* I make no Queſtion, Sir, that a *Peace* will be ſpeedily concluded to the general Satisfaction; or, if it ſhould be obſtructed by any new and unforeſeen Accidents, I am aſſured that We ſhall endeavour to do our ſelves Juſtice in good Earneſt; and, I doubt not, with Succeſs; for I do not think our Condition near ſo deplorable as our *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries* have repreſented it.

Sir *G.* Sir, I take no Pleaſure in ſuch melancholy Reflections; nor do I borrow them from *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries*, but from my own Experience and Obſervation. I wiſh They were as groundleſs, as you ſeem to imagine.

Mr. *S.* Our *Trade*, it is true, hath ſuffered very much for ſeveral Years paſt, in ſome of its moſt conſiderable and beneficial Branches; but I believe you will confeſs, Sir *George*, that the Nation was never *richer* than it is at preſent.

Sir *G.* Upon my word, Mr. *Shallow*, I am fully convinced that it never was *poorer*.

M. *S.* I proteſt, Sir, I am ſurprized to hear you ſay ſo; for it is demonſtrable that we never had ſo much *Specie*, *Jewels* and *Plate* in the Kingdom, as we have at preſent.

Sir *G.* I grant you That, Sir; but it is equally demonſtrable that Money is grown much *cheaper* than it was formerly; that other Nations have increaſed in theſe Particulars, as well as We; and that no Nation can be ſaid to be *rich*, but in Proportion to the Riches of its *Neighbours*. We are indeed grown, of late Years, prodigiouſly rich in a kind of *falſe Wealth*, called *Paper Credit*, which ſerves very well to hide our *Poverty*, and is really the *Effect* of it.

Mr. *S.* But pray, Sir, what Marks of *Wealth* could our Anceſtors boaſt, which we want? Was there ever

a greater Appearance of *magnificent Buildings, coſtly Equipages*, or *ſplendid Entertainments?*

Sir *G.* No, Sir; but you will find yourſelf very much miſtaken if you calculate the Riches of the Kingdom from the Luxury, Extravagance and Profuſion, which are to be ſeen in this Town. It is well known that *ſome Perſons* have amaſſed immenſe Fortunes by *Rapine, Oppreſſion* and the *Calamities* of their Fellow-Subjects, which enable them to maintain the State of Princes; and others, from a Spirit of Vanity or Ambition, run into the faſhionable Vice of imitating their Superiors, and ſpending the *Fee Simple* of a large Patrimony in two or three Years time. This is commonly done in Town; where there are ſo many Temptations and Encouragements to ſuch a way of Living. *London* therefore will be the laſt Place, that feels the Effects of a *general Poverty*; though, if our Information is true, you are not without Complaints of this Kind already. But I wiſh you would make a Progreſs into the Country, and ſee what a terrible Scene of Miſery and Diſtreſs is opened there. You will find the *landed Gentlemen* almoſt generally incumber'd; their *Tenants* ſcarce able, with all their Induſtry, to maintain their Families and pay their Rent; the *Manufacturers* quite unemploy'd; and the *labouring Poor* reduced to ſuch Neceſſity, by want of Work, and the great Dearth of all kind of Proviſions, as to throw Themſelves upon their Pariſhes, or live on the Contributions of their charitable Neighbours. You muſt have heard of the *Tumults* and *Diſorders*, which theſe Calamities have already occaſioned in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; and if Providence had not bleſs'd us, this Year, with a plentiful Harveſt, I dread to think of the Conſequences, which they might have produced.

Mr. *S.* I hope, Sir, you don't juſtify ſuch *riotous Proceedings*.

Sir

Sir *G.* Far from it, Sir; but *Neceſſity hath no Law*, and *Hunger* will rebel againſt the *beſt Principles*. I know theſe *melancholy Accounts* are treated in Town as *meer Bugbears* and *Engines of Sedition*; but go into the Country, and you will ſoon be convinced of the Truth of them.

Mr. *S.* Sir, I don't deny it; but can any *Miniſtry* help This, or ought They to be blamed for it?

Sir *G.* I confeſs, Sir, the *Seaſons* are out of their Power; but it is the Duty of *good Miniſters* to relieve the Diſtreſſes of the People, as far as They are able, by giving Encouragement to *Trade* and *Manufactury*; reducing the *publick Expences*; and taking off *thoſe Duties*, which are found to be moſt burthenſome and oppreſſive to the *Poor*.

Mr. *S.* I ſuppoſe you mean the Duties on *Soap* and *Candles*, which ſome Gentlemen made ſuch a Stir about laſt Seſſion.

Sir *G.* I do, Sir; and pray what Reaſons might be given againſt the *Motion for taking them off?*

Mr. *S.* Why, Sir, I have heard that They are *appropriated*; and that the Surplus belongs to the *ſinking Fund*.

Sir *G.* As for the *Appropriation*, methinks it would be very eaſy for the Parliament to find out ſome other *Duty* in the Room of them, much leſs grievous to the People; as for Inſtance, a Duty upon *Luxury*; which I think ſhould be always *tax'd*, by a wiſe State, preferably to the *common Neceſſaries of Life*.

Mr. *S.* But would you leſſen the Income of the *ſinking Fund?*

Sir. *G.* If it is excuſable to *leſſen*, or *divert* it, upon any Account, it is certainly excuſable upon This; for the only good Effect, which we hope for from the *ſinking Fund*, is *paying off our Debts*, and aboliſhing *thoſe Duties*, which are neceſſary to pay the Intereſt of them? Now, if any *Duties* are very burthenſome to the

the People, why ſhould They be continued, only to carry a little Surplus to the *ſinking Fund*.

Mr. *S.* Our *Repreſentatives* thought otherwiſe; and yet They did ſeveral Things laſt Seſſion, which I believe you will own to be truly laudable and publick-ſpirited.

Sir *G.* Yes, Sir, their Reſolutions, in Favour of our *much injured, ſuffering Merchants*, deſerve the thankful Acknowledgment of every Man, who hath any Regard for the *Britiſh* Commerce. Their Enquiry into the *State of our Goals*, and the vigorous Proceedings of the *honourable Committee* upon it, are likewiſe a ſeaſonable Inſtance that the antient Virtue of this Nation is not wholly extinguiſh'd. I hope, *this Enquiry* will not ſtop at *Huggins*, *Bambridge*, and *Acton*. But what hath, more than all, immortaliz'd this Seſſion, is, the glorious Act for *ſuppreſſing Bribery and Corruption in Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament*. This was really *laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree*; for Corruption in the *Electors* is the moſt probable Means of introducing Corruption in the *Elected*, which can have no other Conſequence in the End but abſolute Deſtruction.

Mr. *S.* And do you really believe, Sir *George*, that *this Act* will have the Effect, which ſome Men flatter Themſelves it will?

Sir *G.* God knows That, Sir. The Diſtemper is grown very inveterate. It hath infected the whole Maſs of our Blood, and will require great Pains, and Skill, and Time, to eradicate it entirely; but it is the *cleareſt Bill* that I ever read; and I can't yet conceive how it will be poſſible to evade it.

Mr. *S.* Alas! Sir, it muſt be a very good Law, indeed, that hath no *Loophole*; and as ſanguine as you, and many other Gentlemen ſeem to be, I can aſſure you *this Act* gives no Diſturbance to thoſe *great Men*, againſt whom it was levell'd. They make a meer Jeſt of it.

Sir

Sir *G.* Let them look as *merry* and *unconcerned* as They pleaſe; the Oppoſition, which They made to the *paſſing* it, and the great Pains They have ſince taken to *ridicule* it, ſufficiently diſcover their *inward Uneaſineſs*.

Mr. *S.* Ah! Sir, depend upon it, They will find ſome Way to creep out of it.

Sir *G.* I make no Doubt that *bad Men*, who have no other *Security* than *Corruption*, will make Uſe of all their little Arts and Stratagems to evade it; but let them look to Themſelves. The Nation is againſt them; and every Country Gentleman, who hath any Regard for Himſelf, or his Poſterity, will keep a watchful Eye upon Them; for can it be imagin'd that *We*, who have exerted our ſelves for the Preſervation of the *Game*, which ſerves only for Amuſement, will not ſhew the ſame Zeal againſt a Set of Wretches, who endeavour, by *unlawful Methods*, to *poach* us out of our Boroughs, and get an infamous Livelihood by engroſſing the Diſpoſal of our whole Eſtates. Theſe are the *Catilines* of their Country; and it behoves every honeſt Man to oppoſe their Deſigns.

Mr. *S.* You grow warm, Sir *George*.

Sir *G.* Sir, I ask Pardon; but it really moves my Indignation to think of ſuch *unnatural Proſtitutes*, who make it their Buſineſs to undo the beſt Work of our Legiſlators; and recommend Themſelves to the Favour of *guilty Men*, by little *Subtleties* and *Diſtinctions* to explain away *Laws*, which diſturb them in their evil Courſes; as if *Corruption* were grown ſo fundamental a Part of our Conſtitution, that the Government cannot ſubſiſt without it!

Mr. *S.* Truly, Sir *George*, I don't know whether it can or not. The People have been ſo long uſed to it, that an Attempt to reform it might prove a very dangerous Experiment.

Sir *G.* So, I know, ſome *modern Writers* would perſuade us; but They have met with the Contempt they deſerve.

deſerve. Men of Senſe and Probity will never be convinc'd that *Corruption*, which hath deſtroy'd the beſt Governments in the World, is ſo far changed in its Nature, as to become the only Security of *ours*.

Mr. *S.* But you muſt confeſs, Sir, that *this Evil* is not of modern Growth. You know, it hath been practiſed among us Time out of Mind.

Sir *G.* I am very ſenſible, Sir, that it hath been growing upon us all the laſt Age; but it is become ſo univerſally prevalent within a few Years paſt, that the Legiſlature thought it neceſſary to interpoſe their Authority in the moſt effectual Manner They could contrive; and if their glorious Deſign ſhould be defeated, by the infamous Endeavours of theſe *Law-Deſtroyers*, I can ſee nothing but Ruin before our Eyes.

Mr. *S.* I ſee very plainly, Sir *George*, againſt *whom* your Arguments are levell'd; but do you think that Things would be mended by *changing Hands?* For my Part, I am afraid that all the Oppoſition, and pretended Patriotiſm of *ſome Gentlemen*, are nothing but a Contention for *Places* and *Power*; and if one Set of *Miniſters* was to be diſcarded, how could we be ſure of having a *better* in their room?

Sir *G.* Sir, I have nothing to ſay againſt the *preſent Miniſters*; nor will I promiſe for *Thoſe*, who ſhall ſucceed them. *Power* is a dangerous Thing, and often corrupts the beſt Natures. But I think it ridiculous and abſurd, at any Time, to argue that, allowing *Men in Power* to be *wicked*, or *ignorant*, or *both*, we ought not to oppoſe them, becauſe we may happen to have *as bad* in their Room; and yet This is a Way of Reaſoning, which hath been very much in Faſhion of late. Let us put a Caſe in private Life, which will immediately diſcover the Fallacy and Folly of it. If you had a *Steward*, who combin'd with your *Tenants* to cheat you; or intangled your Eſtate by his *Ignorance* and *Incapacity* for that kind of Buſineſs; would you ſuffer him to continue in his Place, for fear of meeting

meeting with another, who might happen to prove as great a *Rogue*, or *Fool*, as Himself? You could not certainly be guilty of so much Weakness; for should your Fears prove true, you would only be just where you was before, and would have the same Power to turn Him away and take another. I am sure a wise Man would change his *Steward* every Week, and search all the Country round for a *good One*, rather than keep a *notorious Knave*, or *Blunderer*, in his Service.

Mr. *S.* Certainly, Sir *George*. I am far from being an Advocate for *such Men*; and as much a *Courtier* as you take me to be, I can assure you I never had a *Place*, or *Pension*, in my Life.

Sir *G.* I am fully convinc'd of it; and That makes me take the Liberty of speaking to you in this manner. I never wonder to hear Men, who are *known Creatures*, defend all their *Master*'s Measures, good or bad; and it would be ridiculous to argue against them. But I am often equally surpriz'd and concern'd to find Gentlemen, who are perfectly *independent*, reason in the same Manner.

Mr. *S.* You know, Sir *George*, that I was always a *Whig*; and I am heartily sorry to see the *Party* in so divided and declining a Condition.

Sir *G.* So am I too, Sir; if you mean the *antient Spirit* and *Principles* of that Party, which our Fore-Fathers exerted in the Defence of their Liberties against the Incroachments of *arbitrary Princes*, and the Depredations of *rapacious Ministers*. But the *Whiggism*, at present in Fashion, is a quite different Thing, and not worth preserving. Let the Party *divide* and *decline* as fast as it will; I wish it were utterly extinct; that Gentlemen might no longer be deluded with *Names*, and tempted to desert their *Principles*, rather than desert a *Set of Men*, who have betray'd and scandaliz'd those *Principles*—— But I have out-stay'd my Time. I was to meet some Gentlemen, at six a-Clock, about

about Buſineſs. Mr. *Shallow*, your humble Servant. I thank you for this Favour.

Mr. *S.* I thank you for your good Company, Sir *George*; and hope to ſee you again, before you go out of Town. *N*

From my own Chambers.

THE Author of the *Britiſh Journal* being obliged by frequent *Revolutions in Politicks*, to *contradict Himſelf*, and *recant* every Week, ſeems very deſirous to keep Himſelf in Countenance by my Example for which Purpoſe He hath quoted a Paragraph or two in his laſt Paper, from mine of *May* the 4th, 1728. in which I gave up Doctor KING for an Impoſtor, and retracted my Recommendation of his famous *golden Specifick*. This was deſign'd, and underſtood by every Body, at that Time, as a Piece of *Drollery* only; but Mr. *Manley*, having very honeſtly *alter'd* and *curtail'd* this *ludicrous Recantation* to his own Purpoſe, prefix'd it to his *laſt Paper*, as a Juſtification of his own *ſerious Blunders*, *Inconſiſtencies*, and *Contradictions*. I deſire my Readers to recur to my Paper upon this Subject for farther Satisfaction; and hope they will not expect, for the future, that I ſhould take any Notice of a *Writer*, who is reduced to ſuch *low Shifts* unleſs He ſhould blunder out ſomething farther from *Authority*, which may deſerve ſome Explanation, or Animadverſion. *D*

N° 167. SATURDAY, *Sept.* 13, 1729.

THE preſent State of Affairs in *Europe* hath obliged me to poſtpone ſeveral ingenious and uſeful Letters from my Correſpondents, which deſerve a Place in this Paper; but *theſe Affairs* being, I think, ſufficiently explain'd and diſcuſs'd for the preſent, I have Leiſure to look over my *great Theſaurus of Intelligence*, which contains Variety of Matter upon all Subjects; and ſhall from Time to Time, as Opportunities offer, give thoſe Pieces to the Publick, which will bear the Light. Amongſt the reſt, I find the following, which I have collected together for this Day's Entertainment, being all written on Subjects of much the ſame Nature; and as the Thoughts are generally *new*, I doubt not They will prove agreeable; eſpecially to Thoſe, who have any Compaſſion, or Regard for the inferior Part of their Fellow-Creatures.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq*;

Dear CALEB,

AS I am a conſtant Reader of your *Journal*, I find in one of them, lately publiſh'd, a Deſcription of a Piece of *Dutch Drollery*, expreſs'd by a *Picture*; in which is pourtray'd a generous *Engliſh Bull-Dog* thrown upon his Back; unfairly held down; depriv'd

of all Self-Defence; and expoſed to the Inſults and unmerciful Drubbings of a *ſniveling Hero*, in a *ſhort Cloak* and *ſable Whiskers*. This did not a little raiſe my Indignation; for you muſt know, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I am by Nature very compaſſionate to all the dumb Part of the Creation; but my Regard extends it ſelf more particularly to *Dogs*; and I muſt tell you that my Reſpect for theſe *grateful, affectionate Creatures* is almoſt, if not altogether, as warm as That, which *Gulliver* expreſſes for his favourite *Houyhnhnms*. It is therefore with no ſmall Pleaſure that I read of the great Eſteem and Veneration, which hath been expreſs'd by the Antients for this *ſociable, good-natur'd Animal*. The *Egyptian* Sages with Reverence adored their Deity *Anubis*, under this Shape; and I am informed that the *Mahometans*, to this Day, leave them conſiderable Legacies; frequently declaring it to be a principal Part of their Will, that ſo much Bread ſhould be charitably dol'd about to the *Dogs* of ſuch a Street. Our Forefathers not only repoſed an entire Confidence in the Fidelity of theſe Creatures, *as domeſtick Guardians*, but took them likewiſe as a Sort of *Companions* abroad, to participate with them in their Sports and rural Diverſions; and it is well known that a *late, noble Lord* put Himſelf to the Expence of erecting a *fine Monument* to the Memory of a faithful, favourite *Dog*, with an *Inſcription*, which enumerated the ſeveral *Virtues* and *Accompliſhments* of the Deceaſed.

I was very much pleaſed, the other Day, with an Account, in one of our News-papers, of the great Encouragement, which had been given to a *learned Dog* in *France*; who, it is ſaid, can already diſtinguiſh all the *Letters in the Alphabet*, and begins to *put them together*; from whence They conceive Hopes that He will, in time, make great Improvements in *Literature*; and, perhaps, make a conſiderable Figure in their *Royal Academy of Sciences*.

Now,

Now, as it affords me the higheſt Satisfaction to ſee our *canine* Fellow-Creatures treated with Kindneſs and Humanity; ſo, on the contrary, how am I provoked at ſome *Barbarians*, (in reality much more *Brutes* than *They*) who uſe them with Contempt, and even with the moſt ſhocking Cruelties? I am often in Pain to hear a Couple of good-for-nothing Scoundrels, in a Paſſion, call one another *Dogs*, and *Sons of B——hes*, by Way of Reproach. But what hath given me the greateſt Alarm, is, that an Attempt hath been lately made to reduce *theſe Animals* from their *glorious Immunity* into a State of the moſt *abject Slavery*. *Hunger and Eaſe* were always allowed them, as their undoubted Privileges; but *theſe Innovators* have diſcover'd an Intention of continuing to them the *former*, without the pleaſing Alleviation of the *latter*. The vile Deſigns of theſe *Invaders of publick Liberty* are to make them labour like *Horſes*, inſtead of accompanying us as *Companions*, or ſerving us in the Capacity of *Houſhold Stewards*; for it is notorious that a Couple of ſordid Tyrants have already made the Tour of this Kingdom, imperiouſly laſhing a Sett of *free-born Dogs*, ſlaviſhly harneſs'd to their triumphal Car. It muſt be own'd, indeed, that as there are Degrees of Perfection in the human Kind, ſo doubtleſs there is likewiſe a Difference in this Species, and ſome of them merit only to be treated as the meaneſt Drudges; ſuch are your *ſad Dogs*, your *Dogs in Doublets*, and *Dogs* that, *for Hire*, *jump over Canes*, *play Tricks for the K——g*, and dancing Attendance upon a Rope, for a little *penſionary Bread*, are intirely ſubjected to the Will, and moſt obſequiouſly obſervant of the Nod, Call, or Whiſtle of an haughty, *two-legg'd Monſter*, who derives his own Eaſe and Plenty from the vile Submiſſions of theſe *abject, degenerated Brutes*.

But far, very far different from *Theſe* was that antient, genuine Race of *true-bred Engliſh Bull-Dogs*, who were not only famous at home, but likewiſe ac-

quired a glorious Reputation abroad; excelling in Fight; victorious over their Enemies; undaunted in Death; and, in the Midſt of crackling Blazes and artificial Thunders, reſolutely continuing *tenacious* to the laſt.

But much I fear that few of *that Race* are now ſurviving; for the *Tyrants* before-mentioned could not have chained them tamely to their ſervile Vehicles. When their *Freedom* was invaded, They would doubtleſs have ſhewn a generous Reſentment, by their angry Snarlings; and, if urged by Violence to receive the Yoke, would certainly have turned all their Rage and Strength upon thoſe *arbitrary Men*, who endeavoured, with Bits, Reins and Whips, to lord it over them. It muſt therefore be a *mungrel Race of Dogs*, who ſubmit to this vile Servitude. But let all ſuch *Charioteers* beware how they attempt the Liberties, and endeavour to ſubjugate theſe *nobler Brutes*; for though fix'd in their Seats, and driving a full Career, they may meet with the Fate of that *antient Coachman*, the preſumptuous *Phaeton*.

O. *I am, SIR,*

Your very humble Servant,

PHILOCUNOS.

P. S. If This meets with a tolerable Reception, you may in a little Time expect a Diſſertation on the ſeveral *foreign Species* of *theſe Animals*; ſuch as your *French Harlequins*; *Italian Grey-hounds*; *Spaniſh Pointers*; *Dutch Maſtiffs*; and *German Wolf-Dogs*.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

Worthy SIR,

THE publick Good being the profeſſed Deſign of your Paper, I deſire you to acquaint the Curious, that I have been at a great Expence in procuring a choice Collection of *uncommon Animals*, both foreign and domeſtick, which I deſign ſhortly to exhibit to Sale, *viz.*

1. A large Parcel of the fineſt *Canary Birds*, that were ever ſeen in *England*. They ſing all the modern, favourite *Court Tunes* to Perfection, and will afford the moſt agreeable Entertainment to the *Nobility*, *Gentry* and others, of this Kingdom, who are well affected to our *preſent*, *excellent Adminiſtration*.

2. *Baboons* and *Monkies*, of all Kinds and Sizes, very proper to be *ſent abroad*, being naturally endowed with *groteſque Figures*, and having abundance of *comical Humours*, which cannot but be very entertaining at *foreign Courts*. *N. B.* The *Ladies* need not be afraid of them; for they play no Tricks, that are either *miſchievous*, or *indecent*.

3. A curious Collection of *Engliſh Owls*, which look as wiſe and important as ſome *Miniſters of State*; particularly a *large*, *black one*, (almoſt as big as That brought from *Norway*) which is eſteemed a very great Curioſity.

4. Above *two hundred fine talking Parrots*, which I challenge the whole World to equal. They all ſay *Yes* or *No*, as their *Maſter* bids them, upon the leaſt Nod or Wink of the Eye; and ſome of them will *harangue* for an Hour together, upon any Subject, without Heſitation. There is amongſt them a very large *Mackay*, beautifully *Party-colour'd* with *Red* and *Blue*; who ſtruts, plumes Himſelf and talks to Admiration, when the *Parrots* are with Him; but ſinks his Creſt and

looks very much dismay'd, when They desert Him; for which Reason He is not to be sold *separate*; but if any Gentleman hath a Mind for them *all together*, They will be sold a Pennyworth.

All these *Creatures* are to be seen at my House in *Channel-Row, Westminster*; where I have long dealt in such Curiosities. If you please, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to publish this Advertisement and come to see me, you shall be welcome to any *Bird* or *Beast*, that you shall chuse, except my *large black Owl*, and my Party-*colour'd Mackay*.

N. *I am, SIR,*

Your constant Reader,

TOM. VIRTUOSO.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

Mr. *D'Anvers*,

I Am a great Admirer of *History*, especially the History of my own Country, which I take to be the most useful of all Kinds of Writing, there being some Things even in the worst Historians, which afford Instruction, Entertainment, or Illustration.

As I was dipping, the other Night, into our old Countryman, Sir *Richard Baker's Chronicle*, I took Notice of the following Passage, which had before escap'd my Observation. He tells us that *Lovis*, the *eleventh* of *France*, being desirous to divert our King *Edward* the *fourth* from a War, which He was just entering upon against Him, made Him a Present of an Ass; a Creature which, the Historian says, was very rare amongst us at that Time; though the Breed hath been so much encouraged since, by some *great Men*, that we have been able to send them to

all

all the Courts of *Europe*, and particularly to *France*, (in Return for their former Compliment to us) where the Species of this Animal ſeems at preſent to be almoſt extinct.

I wiſh, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that you would, at your Leiſure, give us a Diſſertation upon theſe uſeful *Beaſts of Burthen*; and particularly on our *Milch-Aſſes*, which are allowed to be of the utmoſt Service to Men in a *conſumptive* and *declining* Condition.

A. *I am, SIR,*

Your humble Servant, and conſtant Reader.

N° 168. SATURDAY, *Sept.* 20, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

DURING the Minority of *LOUIS* the XIV. when *Mazarine* had the Adminiſtration of the Government, that Party, which declared againſt him, were called SLINGERS, or SLING-BOYS. They were ſo ſtiled, ſays the *Hiſtorian*, from their throwing *daily*, or *weekly Papers* at his Head; expoſing the evil Management of his Truſt; the bad Uſe, which he made of the royal Favour; his imbezling the publick Revenues; and every other Crime, of which this great Man was guilty; and whoſe Guilt was continually felt by the People.

I cannot help thinking from this Paſſage, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that you are originally of *French* Extraction, (though you ſay that you are a *German*) and are lineally

lineally deſcended from the Family of the SLINGERS. At leaſt, from the Pleaſure, which you certainly take in throwing Stones of this Sort at the Heads of *great Offenders*, we may be aſſured you have a good deal of this Blood in you; nor need you bluſh to have ſprung from a Race, who were always conſpicuous and celebrated for heroick Actions. The firſt, as well as the moſt illuſtrious SLINGER in all Antiquity, was the Royal *David*; who with five, ſmooth, well-choſen Stones from the Brook, overthrew that *gigantick evil Miniſter GOLIAH*; for ſuch he ſurely muſt be, from his Vaunting, his Size, and his Challenge, his want of all Modeſty, and his Aſſurance in his own Strength. Some are of Opinion that This was a raſh Action in the *Stripling*, as he is called; an Undertaking, that might rather prove him the Son of *Jeſſe*, the BETHLEMITE, than the Father of *Solomon* the *wiſe*. But This may be urged againſt the immortal Atchievements of every Hero, who has appeared in the World; for we know the Aſcent to Virtue is ſteep and difficult, and not gained without arduous Toil and Hazard. Nor yet do I inſiſt, as ſome do, that this *Sling* of *David* was only a Sheet of Paper, like a *modern Journal*, ſetting forth the bad Adminiſtration of that great Man *Goliah*; becauſe I am not much in Love with that looſe way of Paraphraſing, which ſome Men affect.

But now, let us take the Liberty to go on and conſider, what other Perſons and Nations in the World have been famed for good *Slingers*.

We muſt not, in the firſt Place, omit the *Balearick Iſlands*; where all the People are bred to handle this Weapon only in the literal Senſe, and not a Youth above ſixteen is ſuffered to eat any Thing but what he earns by his *Sling*. In this Country, every Man is diſtinguiſhed in private Life, as he is known to have fetched down a *Hawk*, a *Cormorant*, a *Vultur*, or ſome other *miniſterial Bird of Prey*; and in the civil Govern-

Government all Malefactors are put to Death by the *Sling*.

Many of the Heroes, the Patriots and *Demi-Gods* of Antiquity have been famous in the Art of *metaphorical Slinging*; and, indeed, moſt of the heroick Exploits of the Antients are not to be underſtood by us, as they are related by their Poets and Hiſtorians, in the *literal*, but in the *metaphorical* Senſe. *Hercules* therefore, when he ſlew the *Hydra*, wrote him down only. This *many-headed Serpent* was a *bad Miniſter and his Faction*, to whom he gave Battle from Time to Time, and as often defeated and deſtroy'd. Thus when new Schemes were invented, injurious to the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, the *valiant Writer* drew his Pen and overthrew and deſtroyed them; that is, he expoſed and confuted them. When he cleanſed the *Augæan Stable*, did he not encounter *Immorality* and *Corruption?* And may not This, in a very plain and eaſy Manner, be ſaid to be *throwing Stones* at the Head of a *corrupt Miniſter*, who could bring none of his wicked Schemes to bear, unleſs the Generality of the People were *corrupt*, and had *unclean Hands?* When he conquer'd the *Nemæan Lyon*, and the reſt of the Savages, that diſturbed the Peace of Society, did he not deſtroy *rapacious* and *devouring Robbers*; weakening their Gang, and endeavouring to deliver his Fellow-Creatures from *Oppreſſion* and *Tyranny?*

Diomed was literally famous for throwing *great Stones*; and, no doubt of it, could make Uſe of the *Sling*. *Timoleon* and our *King William* the *third* were glorious *Slingers* in the *Herculean* Way. *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, among the Antients, and many illuſtrious Moderns have gained Immortality by *Slinging*; that is, by defending the Rights of Mankind by Arms, or Eloquence. *Algernoon Sidney* would probably have made a good *Slinger*; but his Enemies broke open his Armory, and put him to Death, before his Inſtrument was finiſhed. He died for attempting only to

ſling

ſling well. Indeed, theſe Sort of Battles generally end, as moſt civil Engagements do, in Death or Victory; though it does ſometimes happen that when a young and unexperienced *Slinger* of the lower Claſs has miſſed his Aim, he has been expoſed, by raiſing him on a little SCAFFOLD, and obliging him to put his Head thro' a Hole in a Piece of Wood; but this Puniſhment has been obſerved ſometimes to have had little Effect; becauſe the common People, who are conſtant *Slingers* themſelves, on other Occaſions, at *little evil Miniſters*, in the ſame Place, have attended the ſuppoſed Offender as his Guard, and triumph'd with him in his Cauſe and his Puniſhment.

Of *Slingers* there are many Kinds; but I think they may be collected and divided into the ſeveral Claſſes following, *viz.* the *ſimple*, *allegorical*, *metaphorical*, *paraphraſtical*, *polemical*, and *humourous*.

The *ſimple Slingers* are generally Warriors with warm Hearts; who confiding too raſhly in the Virtue of the Cauſe, in which they are engaged, expoſe themſelves quite unarmed in the Front of the Battle, and enter into open Hoſtilities, without any Regard to Conſequences; ſo that we often ſee the very *Stones* they throw returned upon them. They are frequently wounded, and ſometimes deſtroy'd by their Raſhneſs. Theſe are a Sort of *political Martyrs*, who glory in being ſacrificed for a Cauſe, which they believe to be the Cauſe of Truth. We often hear the *Courage* of theſe bold Fellows commended; but it is very ſeldom that any Thing is ſaid of their *Prudence*.

The *allegorical Slingers* are brave; but they are cunning. They always fight in Armour, and with their Bevers down; and thus equipped, like Knights in Romances, are very ſeldom overcome. They cloath themſelves in *Fable* and *Similitude*; and tho' they are never what they appear to be upon a ſuperficial Sight; yet every one, upon a Review, diſcovers their real Shape; their Armour being compoſed of a

Sort

Sort of malleable Cryſtal, tranſparent and impenetrable. Theſe People, tho' they never aim directly at the Mark, *ſling* with great Succeſs, and are extreamly dreaded by the Enemy.

The *metaphorical Soldier* of this Kind is known by the beautiful Shine of his Arms, which are compos'd of temper'd and poliſh'd Steel, and are often too bright for the Eyes of his Adverſary. He *ſlings* with Force and Penetration. Whatever comes from his Hand is almoſt ſure to take Place. He is the Support and Guard of the Side he defends; and, as the Wiſeman ſays, *the Words of his Mouth are as deep Waters, and the Well-ſpring of Wiſdom as a flowing Brook.*

The *paraphraſtical Slingers* generally make a flying Squadron; whoſe Buſineſs is to regard the Marches and Countermarches of the Foe; to obſerve fully and with Care all his Motions; to ſap Mines and diſcover Ambuſcades; to report the Numbers and Strength of the Enemy; and to point out the weak and unguarded Parts of any Fortreſs deſigned to be attacked. Theſe Soldiers are of great Uſe in preventing the Succeſs of falſe Alarms; in detecting and animadverting upon political Falſhoods, and laying open the Frauds of feigned Friends and real Enemies.

The *polemical Claſs* conſiſts of a ſort of Knights, who are choſen out of the Army for ſingle Combat, when the Enemy challenges Hand to Hand. They are always taken out of the Flower of the Chivalry, not only for their Valour and the Strength of their Sinews, but their Adroitneſs and great Addreſs in the Uſe of their Arms. I have ſeen one of theſe Champions enter the Liſts againſt an Adverſary ſeemingly twice as ſtrong, and lay him upon his Back in an Inſtant with one ſingle Stroke of a *Gooſequill*. I have ſeen another of theſe Knights called into the Field by ſolemn Sound of Trumpet, as if to engage an equal Adverſary, when a Dwarf has appeared in Arms againſt him as in Contempt of his Proweſs; but the

Knight

Knight has immediately taken him upon the Point of his Pen, and expoſed him between both Armies to common Raillery and Contempt. Nor are theſe *Chevaliers* only uſeful in ſingle Combat; in debating Hand to Hand only. They are likewiſe greatly skilled in unravelling knotty and intricate Accounts; in detecting falſe Muſters, and fraudulent Conveyances of the publick Money; in keeping a regular and a laudable Oeconomy; and ſtanding up in the Defence of all the Rights and Privileges of their Fellow Soldiers; and accordingly they always have their Affections.

The ſixth and laſt *Claſs* is the *humourous*; a Race of merry Mortals, who always go to Battle in a kind of *Mail*, paned with Glaſſes of ſeveral Kinds, that multiply, magnify and diminiſh; from which all Objects are reflected in odd-ſorted, whimſical and ridiculous Colours. Their Faces are hid under the *Larvæ* of the Antients; and the *Pantomimes* of Antiquity are ſaid to be only a younger Branch of this Houſe. The *humourous* were never known to be attacked ſucceſsfully, but by Troops of their own Kind; for it has been obſerved, when they have been very gravely and formally aſſaulted by ſerious Warriors, regularly arm'd, and bold Strokes have been aim'd at them, they have always been made without any Effect; which is ſuppoſed to be owing to the lubricous Superficies of theſe glaſſy Coats, from which every Blow ſlides off, and leaves the Opponent to the Laughter of the Company; for they have this Advantage likewiſe, that even in the Time of Action, by artfully oppoſing their little Mirrors to the wiſeſt and moſt prudent Muſcles imaginable, they turn them immediately into the laughable and ridiculous. They have alſo, as I have been told, another Method of attacking; and That is, when they do not make Uſe of their little Glaſſes, they apply the Feather-End of a Quill to the moſt ſenſible Parts of the Adverſary; which, by gently irritating the Muſcles, cauſes a violent

lent Titillation, and turns every Thing into Burleſque from immoderate Laughter. When they engage Troops of their own Kind, as ſometimes they do, it generally proves a very agreeable Entertainment to the Spectators. A thouſand odd and fantaſtick Images are joined. A thouſand Flaſhes, imitating Lightning, glare from the Reflection of their oppoſed Coats of Mail; but This generally proves a drawn Battle; neither does it laſt long, becauſe it would grow tireſome and inſipid both to the Spectators and the Warriors themſelves; and would ſink into a common *grinning Match*.

As I obſerved to you, in the Beginning of this Paper, that theſe *Slingers* were dangerous Enemies to *Mazarine*, I will conclude with telling you that they were very beneficial to the Publick, and ſtemm'd the Male-Adminiſtration of that *corrupt Miniſter* by their Oppoſition. He governed and pillaged *France* for many Years; I think from 1644 to 1662, the Year of his Death; and yet this Man, when he came to die, gave this Advice to his Succeſſor, (I think I may call him ſo) *LOUIS* the XIVth—*Sire*, ſaid He, *I would have you always take Care to hold the Reins of Government in your own Hands, and never truſt entirely to any* ONE FAVOURITE.

R. *I am, &c.*

N° 169. SATURDAY, *September* 27, 1729.

IT hath been often objected againſt the *Clergy*, that the ill Lives of many of their Body are one of the chief Sources of *Infidelity in the Church*; and I think it may be aſſerted, that nothing hath ever contributed ſo much to the Growth of *Infidelity in the State*, as the bad Conduct of *political Miniſters*. For though our Conſtitution is really, in itſelf, neither the better nor the worſe for the Conduct of Thoſe in the *Adminiſtration*; yet when the People are deprived of the good Effects of it by Corruption and Miſmanagement, which they find Themſelves unable to ſtem, they are apt to fall into a State of Indolence and Indifference as to the *Conſtitution* it ſelf; at leaſt, into *Infidelity* and *Diſtruſt* of Thoſe, who ſit at the Helm; which is occaſion'd, as I have ſaid, by *Male-adminiſtration* in general. But I deſign to trace the Cauſes of it more particularly in this Paper.

All People have a natural Affection for the Conſtitution and Frame of Government, under which they are born, however defective, injurious, or oppreſſive to them; and I think it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that this natural Affection is much ſtronger in thoſe Countries, where the *Liberty of the People* is a fundamental Part of the Conſtitution. As long therefore as They find themſelves eaſy and happy in the Enjoyment of their Rights, they will be ſo far from throwing off all Faith in their Governors, who continue theſe Bleſſings

ſings to them, that they will look upon them as their Benefactors. They will concur heartily with them in all their Meaſures, and put an intire Confidence in all their Promiſes and Aſſurances. But if they feel themſelves ill-governed for ſeveral Years together, without any Hopes of Remedy or Redreſs, they will begin to look on their Superiors as a Set of Cheats and Impoſtors, whoſe only Deſign is to pillage and oppreſs them, under the Pretence of protecting them in their Privileges, and defending them againſt their Enemies; and when once a People have conceived ſuch an Opinion of their Governors, it is almoſt impoſſible to remove it. They will think that *ſuch Miniſters* have only Themſelves in view; and if they ſhould do *Right*, that it is only becauſe doing *Right* happen'd, at that Time, to be more for their Intereſt than doing *Wrong*.

Now amongſt other Cauſes of this *political Infidelity*, I look on the following as the principal.

1. When Men are ſeen to thruſt themſelves into Power by *ill Means*; ſuch as Treachery, Corruption, or ſcreening wicked Men from Puniſhment; for can it be ſuppoſed that any Perſon would ſo far proſtitute his Character, and do Violence to his own Inclinations, as to betray his *beſt Friends*, or indemnify his *worſt Enemies*, with no other Intention than That of ſerving his Country? No; Politicians ſeldom *do* Evil *that* Good *may come of it*; unleſs it be *Good to Themſelves*; and therefore We have juſt Reaſon to be jealous and diffident of a Man, who ſticks at no Methods to get into Power, becauſe it is very probable that He will ſtick at nothing, when he is in it.

2. *Ignorance* and *Incapacity* in *Miniſters* are another Cauſe of *political Infidelity*. When the People are aſſured, or convinced of the Ability of their Governors, They will reſt ſatisfied that every Thing will be done for their Service, which Prudence can direct. But when Weakneſs, Indiſcretion and Folly break out in

all their Actions; when They manifeſtly diſcover their Inequality to publick Buſineſs by repeated, falſe Steps, and continual Endeavours to patch up one Blunder with another; when They are notoriouſly trick'd and outwitted by all the *foreign Powers*, with whom They are concerned; when every *petty State* makes an Advantage of their ignorant, bungling Meaſures, and ſqueezes ſomething out of them for Aſſiſtance in their Diſtreſs; in ſhort, when They have undeniably negotiated their Country into Poverty, Dependance and Contempt, from a rich, flouriſhing and formidable State; then, I ſay, all People, who can either ſee or feel, will ceaſe to put any Truſt in Thoſe, who have managed Affairs at this Rate. They will juſtly conclude that *ſuch Miniſters* can never retrieve their own Miſcarriages, nor do any Thing beneficial to their Country, unleſs it be by *Accident*, upon which no wiſe People will ever depend. A *civil Community* is juſt like an *Army of Soldiers*, who will undertake the moſt hazardous Enterprizes with Confidence and Aſſurance of Victory, under a *General* of experienced Conduct and Bravery; but loſe a great deal of their Spirit and Vigour under the Command of *One*, who is known to be deficient in either.

3. This *political Want of Faith* is likewiſe often occaſion'd by the ſelfiſh, rapacious, and inſatiable Spirit of Thoſe, who are intruſted with Power; I mean, when the whole Power of the State, with which They are intruſted, is viſibly made Uſe of to aggrandize *Themſelves* and *their Family*, to an immoderate Degree, preferably to all other Conſiderations of a *publick Nature*.

It is allowed, that Men in high Stations, which are attended with great Trouble, Difficulty, and Hazard, ought to be rewarded, amply rewarded, for their Labour; but then They ſhould remember honeſt *Horace*'s Rule,

——*diſtat*,

——*distat, sumasne* pudenter,
An rapias?——

There is a wide Difference between modest Gain *and* boundless Rapine. The *greatest Minister* is but a *Subject* and *Servant of the King*, and ought to be content with the Property, Retinue and Conveniences of that Condition, if He would be esteemed, or have any Confidence reposed in Him by his inferior Fellow-Subjects; for they will never be persuaded that He hath their Good at Heart, whilst They see him affecting *Sovereignty*, and indefatigably employed in extending his *Power*, amassing *Wealth*, building *Palaces*, and soliciting *Titles*, *Grants* and *Reversions* for Himself and his Relations; especially if He does This at a Time, when They are groaning under numberless, heavy Burthens and Calamities. *Verres*, the infamous *Roman* Governor of *Sicily*, was one of the most rapacious Plunderers, that ever abused Authority; and yet *Cicero* observes very justly, that his *immense Riches*, *instead of screening Him from* Punishment, *confirmed the Suspicion of his* Guilt; *nocenti Reo Magnitudinem Pecuniæ plus habuisse momenti ad Suspicionem* Criminis, *quad ad Rationem* Salutis.

4. The last Cause of *State Infidelity*, which I shall mention at present, is *ministerial Tricking*, *Shuffling* and *Lying*. Sir *Henry Wootton* hath observed, that *it is the Business of an Ambassador, to* lye *for the Good of his Country*; from whence some *shallow Politicians* have concluded, that This is the best Expedient for governing the People at home, as well as serving their Country abroad. When Things *go badly*, they will assert very positively that they *go well*, and promise very confidently that they will soon *go better*, without any Foundation or Design, besides That of stopping our Complaints, and maintaining themselves in Power. They will tell us, to-day, that such a Power, or Prince, is grown formidable to *Europe*, and ought to

be reduced. The next Day, they will maintain the direct contrary, with equal Assurance; and so go on contradicting Themselves and abusing the People from Year to Year, from Month to Month, and from Day to Day. Nay, They will advance the most notorious Falshoods; that *Trade* is in a flourishing Condition, when it is almost at the last Gasp; that *Taxes* are easy, when every Body feels them to be otherwise; and that the People were never so *happy*, as when all the rest of the World *despise* and *insult* them. This they may think *Policy*; but they will find Themselves mistaken. A *known Lyar*, in common Life, is seldom believed, even when He speaks the *Truth*; and *political Lyars* must expect the same Fate. When the People find themselves deceived, imposed upon, and trick'd for several Years together, They will give no farther Credit to the Promises, or Assertions of such a Man; but turn downright *Infidels* to every Thing He says or does, however plausible his Pretences may be.

I have thus laid before the Reader some of the chief Causes of *political Infidelity* in general, without making any Application, which I leave to the Discretion of every Reader. But lest some of my worthy, wire-drawing Commentators should, according to Custom, apply these Rules to *particular Ministers*, or perhaps even to *Majesty* itself; I will conclude with a Passage or two out of the late Sir *Richard Steele*'s political Writings; which I chuse to do at this Time, because I find that *some Persons*, who not only neglected Him, but used Him infamously when living, are now endeavouring to do Themselves Honour, and have their former Treatment forgotten, by raising Monuments to his Memory.

Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

" What, *said He,* are *Majesty* and *Ministry* consolidated; and must the People of *Great Britain* " make no Distinction between the *one* and the *other?* We very well know the Difference; and " humbly conceive that if a *whole Ministry* were impeached and condemned by the People of *Great* " *Britain* in Parliament, for any notorious Neglect " of Duty, or Breach of Trust, the *Prince* could not " suffer by it. But such is the Hardness of these " Sort of *Writers,* that the Honour, the Interest, nay " the Person and Prerogative of the *Sovereign* is " communicated to and confounded with the *Mini-* " *stry;* and *Those,* who by Law are *accountable for* " *all Wrongs* done to the Publick, must be screened " and protected under the sacred and incommunicable " Character and Attributes of *One,* who by Law *can* " *do no Wrong.*

Again. " As for my self, what I have here suggested is from an honest Heart; and I have an " Armour in my Integrity against all Gainsayers. " My Comfort is, that the *Laws* of *England* are still " in Force; and though what I have said may be " *unacceptable,* I am sure it is not *illegal.* Whilst the " *Laws* are in Being, I am safe; and no Man can be " safe, who out-lives them. May I, whenever They " expire, die with them!"

Sir *Richard Steele* is now dead; and had the Happiness to expire *before the Laws of his Country.* D.

N° 170. SATURDAY, *August* 30, 1729.

MR. ADDISON made himself very merry, in one of the *Spectators*, with a Design, which the late *French* King had at that Time of establishing an *Academy of Politicians*; and seemed to look upon a Seminary for breeding up *Statesmen* in a regular Way, by Precepts and Instructions, as a ridiculous Attempt. But I must beg Leave to dissent from that excellent Writer, and cannot help thinking that the Business of *Government* may be much more easily learn'd by Rules and Rudiments, than any other Art, or Science whatsoever. A man must have a natural Genius to arrive at any Perfection in *Poetry*, *Oratory*, *Painting*, or *Musick*; because there are Things required to excel in those Arts, which cannot be attained by all the Industry and Instruction in the World; such as a lively and fruitful Imagination; a graceful Elocution; a quick Eye; a masterly Hand; and a delicate Ear. But the *political Art*, which consists chiefly in *Forms*, *Precedents*, and *Knowledge of the World*, is subject to every Man's Understanding, and requires nothing more than Assiduity and Information. The Society of *Jesus* is known to be rather a *political* than a *religious* Institution, and hath furnished the catholick Courts of *Europe*, for an Age or two past, with their ablest Ministers and Statesmen. The Court of *France* hath been particularly obliged to this great Seminary of Politicians for the Figure, which she hath made in the World. She hath been long famous for her Skill and Management of Intrigues; and hath often retrieved by Negotiation in the *Cabinet*, what she hath lost in the *Field*. On the other Hand, we *Britons*

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(by I know not what Fatality, or Negligence) have always been more remarkable for our *Courage* than our *Policy*; and from being the Terrour of all *Europe* in the Field, have often ſuffered ourſelves to become the Dupes and Bubbles of all *Europe* in the Cabinet. Now, for my Part, I cannot impute This to any thing ſo much as the Want of a regular Inſtitution in *State-Affairs*; for the Genius of our Countrymen, in general, ſeems to be ſo naturally inclined to *Politicks*, that it hath been obſerved from a *Nation of Saints*, as *England* was once called, we are become a *Nation of Stateſmen*. Our *Coffee-houſes* and *Taverns* are full of them. Nay, we often find them cramp'd up behind *Counters*; or immur'd in *Stalls*, *Garrets* and *Night-Cellars*. But our Misfortune is, that this national Genius, for want of due Cultivation and Improvement, is apt to grow wild, and ſhoot up into Schemes and Projects, which expoſe us to the Inſults and Contempt of the World about us. I would therefore propoſe it to the Wiſdom of my Superiors, whether it would not be highly for the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation to put ourſelves upon an Equality with *Popiſh* Countries, by erecting a *Proteſtant Academy* for the Inſtruction of young Gentlemen in the Art and Myſtery of *Government*. If this Propoſal meets with any Approbation, or Encouragement, I doubt not that Variety of Plans will be laid before the Publick for that Purpoſe; but as it may be expected that I ſhould offer ſomething of this Nature, I would humbly propoſe the following Model, which occurred to me on my firſt Thoughts on this Subject; declaring that I ſhall chearfully yield to any thing better, which may be hereafter propoſed.

I would have a large Edifice erected, at the Expence of the Publick, (unleſs any private Perſon hath a mind to immortalize Himſelf by ſo noble a Benefaction) conſiſting of ſeveral *Schools*, like Thoſe in both our Univerſities; in which the ſeveral Branches of *political* Know-

Knowledge, neceſſary to the Formation of a *Stateſman*, ſhall be particularly explained to a certain Number of Students, by able Profeſſors, who ſhall be appointed by the Government with handſome Salaries for that Purpoſe.

In the firſt, or loweſt of theſe *Schools*, I would have the Students taught to *read* and *write*, and *caſt Accompts*; for really a Man makes but a pitiful Figure in one of the *chief Poſts of an Adminiſtration*, who is not Maſter of theſe ordinary Accompliſhments.

The next ſhould be the School of *modern Languages*, eſpecially *French*, which is almoſt abſolutely neceſſary for converſing with *foreign Miniſters*, either at home or abroad; though it muſt be confeſs'd that there are Exceptions to this general Rule; and that We have had Inſtances of *ſome Men*, who have made a ſhining Figure even at the *French* Court itſelf, without the leaſt Knowledge of their *Language*, or *Manners*.

The third ſhould be a *Dancing-School*; which may ſeem, perhaps, to ſome Perſons, a very unneceſſary Apartment in a *political Academy*; but I muſt deſire theſe Gentlemen to conſider that *Addreſs* and a *graceful Appearance* have ſome Influence in all Courts, and often contribute to the carrying of great Points. It is, at leaſt, very improper that a Perſon inveſted with a *publick Character*, which repreſents his *Sovereign*, ſhould be ſo far deſtitute of all Breeding, as not to know how to come into a Room with tolerable Grace, or to behave Himſelf when He is there. In this School might likewiſe be taught the *Ceremonies* and *Punctilios of Honour*, which ought to be obſerved in Converſation with *Ladies*; or other Perſons of high Rank.

I would likewiſe have a *Geographical School*; in which our young Students in *Politicks* ſhould be inſtructed in the Knowledge of the *Globe* and *Maps*. They ſhould eſpecially be taught to diſtinguiſh between the four, great Quarters of the World; particularly

Ame-

America; which being the laſt diſcovered Part, ſome *Miniſters* have fallen into great Miſtakes, about it, and diſcovered to the whole World that they took *Portobello* and *La vera Cruz* to be the ſame Place, though they lie at ſeveral hundred Leagues Diſtance from each other. A *Geographical Profeſſor* would therefore be very neceſſary in this Seminary, to prevent ſuch egregious Blunders for the future. He might alſo be obliged to give his Aſſiſtance to our *adult Stateſmen* in any of their Enterprizes, or Expeditions, whether at *home*, or *abroad*.

The *fifth* ſhould be the *Ambaſſador's* School; where I would have Monſieur *Wiquefort*'s Book upon the Functions of that high Office carefully explained to the Students; and no Perſon ſhould be ever ſent abroad with a publick Character, who is not a tolerable Proficient in the Intereſts, Manners and Characters of the chief Perſons of that Court, at which He is to reſide. The *Profeſſor* of this School ſhould take great Pains to inſtruct his Diſciples not to be impoſed upon and led by the Noſe (as ſome *Ambaſſadors* have been) by the Tricks, Subtleties and Fineſſes of *artful Miniſters*; eſpecially by *Delays* and *Procraſtinations*, which are always dangerous in political Negotiations, when the Party, upon whom they are practiſed, is kept at a continual, vaſt Expence, with his Hands bound down, and inſulted by his Enemy, without any Power of defending Himſelf, or making Reprizals; and yet We have known *ſome Ambaſſadors*, whoſe whole Negotiations have conſiſted of nothing but *Delays*; which they ſeemed to look upon as deep Reaches in Politicks, for no other Reaſon that I can gueſs, but becauſe a *Roman Dictator* once carry'd his Point by them, in a particular Caſe of great Extremity.

Unus Homo nobis cunctando *reſtituit Rem.*

But I believe it will be found, upon Examination, that *Delays* have done more Miſchief to *ſome Countries* than they ever did Good to *Rome*; and a *certain Gentleman*,

tleman, who affects to imitate *Fabius* in this Particular, must not expect to be honoured with the Title of *Maximus* upon that Account.

In another School I would have the whole, modern Art of *Treaty-making* explained by a Professor, well acquainted with this Part of *political Knowledge*.

He must be a Man of a subtle, prevaricating Genius; a perfect Master of *Ambiguities*, *double Meanings*, and *equivocal Expressions*; which are of great Use, when it is not proper to let the Sense of the *contracting Parties* appear in publick. He must likewise be well versed in *secret*, and *separate Articles*, *saving Clauses*, and *Counter-Stipulations*; which make the greatest Part of *modern Treaties*, and give either Party an Opportunity of breaking through them, when Occasion requires, without any apparent Violation of publick Faith, by distinguishing between the *Letter* and the *Spirit* of a Treaty. I would only recommend one Rule to the *Professor* and *Students* in this School; and That is, not to project any *Treaties*, *Conventions*, or *Allyances* between two Nations, who have no mutual Interest concerned; for it is ridiculous to suppose that any *Words*, however formal or solemn, will bind a Prince, or State against their real Interest. I hope, therefore, that this Rule will be of some Service to the World, in preventing *wild*, *blundering Treaties* and *unnatural Allyances*; which are the Source of so many national Misfortunes and Calamities.

In the highest School of all, should be taught the Business of the *Finances* and other Affairs, which relate to the Office of a *Prime Minister*; such as the Method of keeping *publick Accounts*, and making an Advantage of *national Debts*; the Mystery of *Stock-jobbing*, *Taxes*, *Ways* and *Means*, *Deficiencies* and *Arrears*; the Use of *Spies*, *Setters* and *Informers*; the Art of managing *publick Assemblies*, breaking *Promises* without *Falshood* and *bribing*, or being *bribed* without *Corruption*; as also the great Secret of deceiving *Princes*,

Princes, and making them anſwerable for the Miſmanagement, Blunders and Iniquities of their *Servants*.

I have the Vanity to believe that a *political Seminary*, formed upon this Plan, would prove of excellent Service to my Country; eſpecially if it is eſtabliſhed at this Time, when we have ſo many Gentlemen in Power, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, both at home and abroad, by their Capacities for publick Buſineſs; and as his late moſt chriſtian Majeſty propoſed to put his *Academy* under the Protection of the Marquis *de Torcy*, Miniſter and Secretary of State, I doubt not that one of our moſt eminent Stateſmen would undertake the ſame Office, and initiate our *young Politicians* in thoſe great Arts, by which they have ſo remarkably ſignalized *Themſelves*.

I ſhall only add, that if it ſhould be found difficult to raiſe Money for this Purpoſe, it might not be improper to confiſcate the Eſtate of ſome *great Offender*; and thus turn the Treaſure, which hath been plunder'd from the Publick, to the Service and Emolument of the Publick. *D.*

N° 171. SATURDAY, *October* 11, 1729.

O Navis, *referent in Mare Te novi*
Fluctus. O, quid agis? fortiter occupa
PORTUM. HOR.

THE Continuance of a large united Squadron for so many Months together, at *Spithead*, hath been the Subject of much Speculation both at home and abroad. It hath furnished our *Malecontents* with an Opportunity of throwing out several ill-natur'd Sneers and petulant Reflections upon *some Men in Power*; and even the most implicit Admirers of *Those* in the *Administration* seem to have been somewhat at a Loss to account for the Reasons of keeping so great an Armament upon our own Coasts, during the whole Summer. But I doubt not that some *Enquiry*, or *Observations* will be published in *due Time*, and justify *this Part of our Conduct* as fully to the World as all our *former pacifick Measures*.

We were favour'd, last Year, with the Draught of a *provisional Treaty* for the Re-establishment of the publick Tranquility; and had Hopes given us that the Allies of *Vienna* would accede to it; of which indeed we had little Reason to doubt; there being nothing contained in that *Treaty*, (in all outward Appearance) to which *They* could take any reasonable Exception. But the Equipment of a *large Fleet*, some Time after, banished all those Hopes, and gave us Reason to suspect that some farther *Difficulties* and *Obstacles* lay in the

the Way. It was generally believed, by all Parties, that ſome great Enterprize was in Agitation; that We were at length reſolved to ſtrike a Blow, and endeavour to obtain thoſe Terms by *Compulſion*, which We had in vain attempted to procure by *Perſuaſion* and *gentle Methods*; eſpecially, when our Allies, the *States General*, ſent a large Squadron of their Ships, under the Command of a brave, experienc'd Officer, to join us. This Opinion, of vigorous Counſels having been taken, continued to prevail for ſeveral Months; though People began to wonder that the Execution of them was delayed from Time to Time. At length, We were let into a great Secret by a *certain, Court-Writer*; who told us that the Fleet at *Spithead* was ſo far from being deſigned to act againſt *Spain*, as it was generally apprehended, that it was fitted out to convoy a Body of Troops into *Italy*, to ſecure the eventual Succeſſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia* for the Infant *Don Carlos*, as the beſt and only Expedient for ſettling the Peace of *Europe*. This was ſomewhat ſurprizing at firſt; becauſe this Succeſſion was never mentioned in the *proviſional Treaty*, publiſh'd laſt Winter; and eſpecially from a Man, who had aſſerted and taken great Pains to prove, but a few Months before, that it was a Point, which threaten'd the Liberties of *Europe*, and therefore would never be comply'd with by any of the chief Powers; particularly by *Great Britain*. It is now above two Months ago that He recanted theſe Aſſertions; and maintained, on the contrary, that it is our Intereſt to eſtabliſh *Don Carlos* in *Italy*; nay, that the Fleet was equipp'd for this Purpoſe; though no ſuch Enterprize hath been yet undertaken; and the Seaſon of the Year is ſo far advanced, that I cannot think any ſuch Deſign is now in Agitation.

But it may be asked, perhaps, with what Deſign therefore was *this Squadron* equipp'd; of what Service hath it been to the Nation, or the general Cauſe of

Peace; and for what Reasons is it still continued at *Spithead?* To which I answer, that it is not proper for private Men to pry too closely into Secrets of State, before Those, who have the Management of Affairs, think fit to divulge them. We ought to rest satisfy'd and assured that these Measures, however unaccountable to us, were influenced by very good Motives; and that Those, who pursued them, are able to justify their Conduct in a *proper Place*, and when they are call'd upon by a *proper Authority*.

In the mean Time, though the chief End of this Equipment is not yet known, I think my self able to prove that it hath been incidentally serviceable to the Nation in several Respects of great Importance.

In the *first* Place, *this Squadron* hath undeniably secured us from any Invasions, or Attempts, which might otherwise have been made upon us this Summer, in Favour of the *Pretender*, pursuant to a *secret Article*, which was sign'd (as we were solemnly assured) by the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain* for that Purpose; for notwithstanding the repeated Assurances of *some Writers*, I do not find that the formidable Conjunction of those *two Powers* is yet dissolv'd; and consequently we ought not to lay aside our Apprehension on that Account.

" I know very well (*to use the Words of the* Enquiry) how easy and how common it is to laugh at " the Name of the *Pretender*, whenever it is men- " tion'd upon such Occasions, as a *political Bugbear* " or *Scarecrow*; a meer Word of *Alarm*; or a *Puppet* " to be play'd by Statesmen at their Pleasure, and " whenever their Designs require it. But it would be " very unfortunate for *Great Britain*, and end in the " total Ruin of us and our Posterity, if Those, who " are at the Helm, should suffer themselves, at the Plea- " sure of such as wish them no Good, to be laugh'd " out of that Care and Wakefulness, which their " *King* and their *Country* require of Them. There is

" not

" not a *Day*, nor an *Hour*, in which the Neceſſity " of Attention to this great Point does not appear ; " nor is there, I fear, any Criſis of Affairs in *Europe* " poſſible, at this Time, without *This* bearing a great " Part in it."

We ſee, from hence, that even the Being of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Succeſſion of his Majeſty's illuſtrious Family* are deeply concerned, and ought always to be concerned in theſe *military Preparations* and *Expences*? For though no ſuch Attempt might probably have been made, if *this Fleet* had not been equipped ; yet (as this *excellent Writer* obſerves) we ought to be *daily* and *hourly* upon our Guard, and remove all Poſſibility of Danger; ſince *Prevention of Evils* hath been ever acknowledged the *beſt Cure*.

But, *ſecondly*, we have not only prevented any *Invaſion*, which might have been projected againſt us, by keeping our *Fleet* ſtation'd in this Manner, on our *own Coaſt* ; but have likewiſe avoided giving any poſſible Umbrage either to our *Friends*, or our *Enemies*. They cannot now pretend that We have been guilty of any *Hoſtilities*, as they did in the Caſe of ſtopping the *Galleons*. Our Operations, this Summer, have been meerly *defenſive*, in Conformity to the *Treaty of Hanover* ; and therefore we have the utmoſt Reaſon to expect that the Negotiations of *Peace* will now proceed, without any farther Difficulties, or Objections to *our Conduct*.

By this *domeſtick Armada* We have likewiſe prevented the *Deſtruction of our Sailors*, which was ſo much lamented during the Blockade of *Porto-bello*. Our *Malecontents* have no Opportunity to complain, in their uſual, popular Manner, that our *Britiſh Navy* and *Seamen* (the great Bulwark of our Nation) have lain *rotting* at *Spithead*, as They did at the *Baſtimentos*, by *Worms*, *Diſeaſes*, and Want of *wholeſome Proviſions* ; nor can They mourn over any *brave Admirals*, who have periſhed there in the Service of their Country.

Every Body knows that it hath been a Scene of general *Mirth, Feſtivity*, and *Entertainment*, inſtead of *Mortality* and *Diſtreſs*.

This *naval Encampment* hath alſo been of great Service to the Nation in exerciſing our *Sailors*, and keeping them in a Readineſs for *Action*, whenever *defenſive* and *pacifick Meaſures* only ſhall be found ineffectual.

I hope it will not be thought ridiculous to mention another Advantage, of leſs Conſequence indeed than any of the former, which the Publick hath received from *this Fleet*; and That is, the great Stop, which it muſt neceſſarily have put to that deteſtable Practice of *ſmuggling*, or *running Goods*, (and thereby defrauding his Majeſty's Revenue) which hath grown of late Years, to an enormous Height on thoſe Coaſts. I hope, I ſay, that it will not be thought ridiculous to mention This amongſt other Advantages; for though it would, undoubtedly, be eſteemed monſtrous Politicks to keep up ſo large an Armament for *no other Purpoſe*; yet it muſt be confeſs'd an adventitious Benefit accruing from it; ſince the moſt daring of theſe *Offenders* will hardly preſume to carry on their *lawleſs Traffick* under the Noſe of a powerful, united Fleet.

I ſhall mention but one more *national Advantage*, which may ſeem to ſome Perſons a little *paradoxical*; but I am juſtified in it by the Author of the *Enquiry* before-mentioned. I mean the EXPENCE, in *building, rigging, victualling* and *equipping this Fleet*; which creates a great *Circulation of Money*; which is the Life of *Trade*; which is the Support of the *Nation*. This *Expence* indeed (as He obſerves) *muſt be a* Burthen *to Thoſe, who* pay *towards it*; but it is certainly a *Benefit* to Thoſe, who *receive* it. *The Body of Subjects, taken together, are not the poorer for it; though the Perſons paying it to others are ſo*; which I think

think an unanſwerable Argument and Apology for *all Expences whatſoever of this Nature.*

But beſides this *neceſſary Expence*, which the Nation hath been at in *Building*, *Rigging*, *Victualling*, &c. We may add the *voluntary Expences* of the Curious, which the *Continuance of our Fleet at Spithead* hath occaſioned, and which would have been prevented by its *going abroad.* It is true indeed, that *Thoſe*, who put themſelves to this *Expence*, are the *poorer* for it; but the *Money is ſtill in the Nation. It is only removed out of one Pocket into another.* The good People of *Portſmouth*, in particular, are great *Gainers* by it; and I think I may affirm that *no Fleet ever promoted ſo great a Circulation of Money.*

I have thus endeavour'd to prove (and I think I have done it very amply) that the Equipment and Continuance of the Fleet at *Spithead* hath been of great Advantage to the Nation, in many Particulars, ſuppoſing it ſhould be laid up without doing any *farther Service*; and as I am the *only Perſon*, who hath hitherto attempted to juſtify the Conduct of my *Superiors*, upon this Account, againſt the Cavils and Clamours of *Malecontents*, I hope I ſhall, for the future, eſcape the Obloquy of *other Writers*, nor ſuffer any longer under the Character of a Perſon diſaffected to our *preſent moſt excellent Adminiſtration.* I defy the moſt fulſome and ſordid of *thoſe Writers* to ſay more, upon *this Head*, than I have ſaid, without expecting any other Reward than the Satisfaction of having done my Duty, by ſpeaking the Truth impartially upon all Occaſions, and doing Juſtice indifferently to all Men. *D.*

N° 172. SATURDAY, *October* 18, 1729.

USBECK at —— to *RUSTAN* at ISPAHAN.

THOU knoweſt, *Ruſtan*, that in our happy Regions, of the *Eaſt*, there is but one Form of Government, which is deſpotick and uncircumſcrib'd by any Laws, except the Will of the Prince. Our mighty *Sophi's* are uncontroul'd and omnipotent like the great *Alha*, whoſe Vicegerents they are. But in theſe northern Parts of the World, where I reſide, there is almoſt an infinite Variety of Governments. Some are called abſolute *Monarchies*; but they bear no Proportion of Power to our great *oriental Empires*. They have likewiſe what they ſtile *mix'd*, or *limited Monarchies*, *Ariſtocracies*, *Oligarchies*, *Democracies*, and others compounded and decompounded out of two, or more of Theſe. It would be endleſs, *Ruſtan*, to enumerate; much more to deſcribe them all. They ſwarm one out of another, as different Humours, and Intereſts, and Factions prevail. But there is a particular odd kind of Government, lately hatch'd amongſt them, which I will deſcribe to Thee, as well as I am able, becauſe I know Thee to be curious in ſuch *political Novelties*. It is called ROBINARCHY, or ROBINOCRACY, from the Name of the Man, as I have been informed, who firſt founded it. This Form of Government ſeems to be compounded of a *Monarchy*, an *Ariſtocracy* and a *Democracy*; for it conſiſts in keeping all *Three* in a State of Dependency upon itſelf. The *Robinarch*, or chief Ruler, is nominally a *Miniſter* only and Creature of the Prince; but in

in reality He is a *Sovereign*; as deſpotick, arbitrary a Sovereign as this Part of the World affords. He does every Thing in his Prince's Name and by his Prince's Authority, except Good; which he always does in his *own Name* (whenever he happens to do any) and claims the ſole Merit of it to *Himſelf*. His Government therefore may properly be called a *miniſterial Government*, or *Imperium in Imperio*; which hath been always treated as a Solæciſm in Politicks by the beſt Writers upon Government, even in theſe barbarous, *European* Nations.

Theſe *Robinarchs*, *Ruſtan*, are commonly *new Men*, of plebeian Extraction and ſmall Inheritance; and as their Power is a manifeſt Uſurpation upon the Prince's Prerogative, and tends to the Oppreſſion of the People; their Government ſeldom laſts long; for which Reaſon it is a conſtant Maxim amongſt them to fill their Coffers as faſt as They can. Their Meaſures and Methods of doing This are very extraordinary; though well enough ſuited to the Nature of their Government. The *Robinarch* in Poſſeſſion conſiders very rightly, that as He hath unjuſtly engroſs'd the whole Power of a Nation into his own Hands, with a View to exorbitant Gain, all the honeſt and ſenſible Part of the Nation muſt of Conſequence be his Enemies. He therefore admits no Perſon to any conſiderable Poſt of Truſt and Power under Him, who is not either a *Relation*, a *Creature*, or a *thorough-pac'd Tool*, whom he can lead at Pleaſure into any dirty Work, without being able to diſcover his Deſigns, or the Conſequences of them. He knows that *Ignorance* is often the *Mother of Obedience, as well as Devotion*. As for his inferior Agents and Inſtruments, He takes them out of the vileſt of the People, whom he ſecures by *Corruption*. On the other Hand, He makes it his particular Buſineſs to diſcountenance Men of Probity, Learning and Underſtanding; whom He dares not truſt, and therefore hates. He endeavours to make *Patriotiſm* and

and *publick Spirit* ridiculous, by repreſenting them a the Effects of *Madneſs*, or *diſappointed Ambition*. H maintains roundly that *Bribery*, when well apply'd, i an excellent, political Virtue, without which no Go vernment can ſubſiſt; and to convince the World of hi Sincerity, He makes it the ſole Expedient of his own He rules by *Money*, the Root of all Evils, and found his iniquitous Dominion in the *Corruption* of th People.

The greateſt Difficulty, which he hath to ſtrugg with, is when He meets with a Prince of Virtue, For titude and Wiſdom. Thou wilt wonder, *Ruſtan* how the *Robinarchal Government* can ſubſiſt under ſuc a Prince; but alas! thou knoweſt that even the grea eſt and wiſeſt of Princes (though deſcended from th *Sun*, like our oriental Monarchs) are but Men; ſubjec to the ſame Frailties and Imbecilities with oth Men. Nay, their high Station is, in many Reſpects, Misfortune. It puts them out of the Road of com mon Intelligence and Information. It lays them un der a Neceſſity of truſting to their Servants and Favou rites. They cannot ſee with their own Eyes; n hear with their own Ears. On This depends the *Rob narch*'s Security. He cloſets up his Maſter. He ſtic cloſe to his Ear, and infuſes into it whatever Notio and Prejudices He thinks fit, or finds ſerviceable t his Intereſt and Ambition. He leads Him into Me ſures, contrary to the Intereſt and Inclinations of h Subjects, in hopes of diverting the popular Odiu from Himſelf. He repreſents his own perſonal En mies (whom *Corruption* and *Male-Adminiſtration* ha made ſuch) as Enemies to their King and their Countr He forges ſham Plots; ſuborns falſe Evidence; a tries every Art to make the People jealous of the Prince, and the Prince diffident of his People, in ord to make Himſelf neceſſary to his Service.

This is not all. I told thee, *Ruſtan*, that none the *northern Princes* were properly *Monarchs*, or a

ſolu

olute Sovereigns; but in thoſe *Gothick* Countries, where *Robinocracy* generally prevails, the Prince is mited and reſtrained by Laws, Oaths and Contracts etween *Him* and his *Subjects*, who have a Share in the egiſlature, and ſend their *Deputies* to act in Concert vith Him. He can raiſe no Money, the great Sinew of Government, without their Approbation and Conent. They have likewiſe a Power to call his *Miniſters* o Account for all their Actions, and have often bliged Him to give them up to Juſtice, againſt His wn Inclinations. It is therefore neceſſary for a Man, vho aſpires to *Robinarchal Power*, to ſecure the *Deuties* of the People on his Side, as well as the *Prince* Himſelf. This, I am told, was no eaſy Matter in ormer Times; the *Deputies* being a numerous Body of Men, ſtubbornly tenacious of their Rights and Liberties; but *modern Robinarchs* have found out a Mehod of ſoftening this old-faſhioned, rigid Virtue to heir Purpoſes. They do This chiefly by giving Encouragement to *Luxury* and *Extravagance*, the certain Forerunners of *Indigence*, *Dependance* and *Servility*. Some are ty'd down with *Honours*, *Titles* and *Preferments*; of which the *Robinarch* engroſſes the Diſpoſal to Himſelf; and others with *Bribes*, which are called *Penſions* in theſe Countries. Some are perſuaded to proſtitute Themſelves for the lean Reward of *Hopes* and *Promiſes*; and others, more ſenſeleſs than all of them, have ſacrificed their Principles and Conſciences to a Set of *Party-Names*, without any Meaning, or the Vanity of appearing in Favour at *Court*.

The *Robinarch*, having thus eſtabliſh'd Himſelf in Power, begins to diſcover and exert his Capacities for Government. He corrupts the People with their own Money, to part with their own Money; and by throwing a Bucket or two of Water, at convenient Times, into the Well, pumps out again what Quantities He pleaſes. He loads them with *Taxes*, to keep them from growing wanton with Wealth; and plunges them

them into *Debt*, to secure their *Affections*. He negotiates them into *Difficulties* and *Distresses*, to make great Sums of Money necessary for what are called *secret Services*; and bridles them with *large mercenary Armies*, to preserve them from *Tyranny*, *Slavery*, and *Oppression*.

When He hath bled them down almost to the last Gasp, He comforts them with Assurances, that They were never in so vigorous a State of Health. He desires them to judge of the publick Prosperity by his own; and insolently endeavours to convince them that they are not miserably poor, because He is exorbitantly rich.

In the same Manner that He governs Affairs at home, He would willingly rule them abroad; that is, by *Money* rather than *Ability*; but in This He commonly finds Himself disappointed. They take his *Money*, without doing his *Jobs*; unless when He sometimes happens to meet with *Ministers* of less Depth and Penetration than *Himself*.

I told Thee, *Rustan*, that this new-fangled Medley of Government seldom lasts long in the Person of one Man. Nay, Thou wilt conclude, from the small Sketch, which I have given Thee of it, that it cannot be of long Duration, without overthrowing the Constitution itself, and destroying the Prince, as well as the People. The *Robinarch* carries every Thing before Him, in the Zenith of his Power, which is too violent and rapid to be stemm'd; but at length the Cries of the People become loud and importunate, and general as their Distresses. They reach the Prince's Ears, and pierce his Heart. He makes Enquiry into their Complaints; and finding them just, rouzes Himself up to Vengeance, and resolves to redress them. The *Robinarch* perceives the impending Storm. He sees it gathering over his Head, and leaves no Art untry'd to break, or divert it. There is something, *Rustan*, very tragi-comical in this Crisis of his Fate.

He writhes, winches, distorts Himself, and shews a manifest Disturbance in his Looks, his Words, and his Actions. He sinks his proud Crest. He becomes very humble and descends to little, mean Apologies for his Conduct. He desires that he may not be answerable for *Events*, though they evidently flow from his own wild Counsels and extravagant Measures. He imputes the Calamities of his Country, which his insatiable Avarice hath occasioned, to the natural Fluctuation of human Affairs; to unavoidable Accidents; the Obstinacy of foreign Powers; or the malevolent Opposition of domestick Enemies; of those very Enemies whom, upon other Occasions, he affects to treat with Indifference and Contempt. When he is beaten out of these weak Holds, he does not scruple to lay the Blame on the *Winds*, the *Weather* and the *Seasons*; and even presumes to arraign Providence as the Author of his Mismanagement. Thou can'st not be surprized, *Rustan*, to hear that such a Man will stick at nothing to secure himself in this Distress; that he is false, ungrateful and perfidious; that he cancels all Obligations, human and divine; and is willing to give up a *Friend*, a *Relation*, or even a BROTHER, who hath proved faithful to Him for many Years, to the Disadvantage of his own Character, and been ready to lend his *Name* and *Authority*, upon all Occasions, to support Him in his unrighteous Power. But the People (the injur'd, enraged People) will not be satisfy'd with This. They keep their Eyes stedfastly fix'd on the *Principal* of their Misfortunes, and will not suffer them to be diverted by such a mock Sacrifice of his *inferior Agents* and *Accomplices*. They know very well who hath been their *great Oppressor*, and expect to see Him made an Example of Justice.

The *Gothick* Governments of the North, *Rustan*, are naturally subject to these *Robinarchal* Usurpations. I have been informed that *England* itself (the best con-

ſtituted of them all) hath not been intirely free from them. They tell me that, even in the Time of their moſt favourite Princeſs, Queen *Elizabeth*, (who reigned about a Century and an half ago,) a *Robinocracy* prevail'd for ſome Years in the Perſon of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, her *prime Miniſter*; and that ſeveral have been eſtabliſh'd ſince that Time, under ſome of their *beſt* and *wiſeſt Princes*.

How painful a Task muſt it be, *Ruſtan*, for a brave People to ſubmit to ſuch a mean, plebeian and inglorious Tyranny? Is it not much more tolerable to be Slaves, as our *Aſiaticks* are, under a great, high-born Prince, whoſe Lineage ſets Him above the Level of other Men, than to crouch and truckle to a Fellow-Subject, an Upſtart of Yeſterday, whoſe only Præeminence conſiſts in his exalted Guilt and diſtinguiſh'd Genius for Wickedneſs?

——The 4th of the Moon
Zilcade 1726. *A.*

From my own Chambers.

I Have juſt read a very ſtupid and angry Letter publiſh'd in the *Daily Journal*, ſigned *Atticus*; of which I ſhould have taken no Notice, had he not promiſed to give me the Reaſons of the Equipment and Continuance of a Fleet at *Spithead*, this whole Summer, if I deſire it. I do deſire it of this Author, (whom I preſume to be in the *Secret*) and promiſe to conſider what He ſhall be pleaſed to communicate upon this Subject.

Tueſday, Oct. 14. CAL. D'ANVERS.

N° 173. SATURDAY, *October* 25, 1729.

Some Conſiderations offered to the Proprietors of

SOUTH SEA STOCK.

GENTLEMEN,

IT being aſſured that the *South-Sea Company* are fitting out another *annual Ship* for the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, I am induced by ſeveral Reaſons to reſume that Subject, and offer ſome ſhort Conſiderations to you, which I hope will not be thought unſeaſonable at this Time.

It would be loſt Labour, I fear, to ſay any Thing farther than what hath been already ſaid, concerning *Monopolies* and *excluſive Companies*; for though it is demonſtrable that they are infinitely prejudicial to Commerce in general, and, by their great Influence, almoſt incompatible with a free Government; yet They ſeem to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom by their vaſt Capital, and the Patronage of *Thoſe*, who find their Account in them, that We have but very little Hopes of ſeeing them aboliſhed. I ſhall therefore confine my Obſervations on the *South-Sea Company* to the preſent State of that great Corporation.

It hath long been a Point of Diſpute between the Advocates for *that Company* and the *private American*

Merchants, whether their Trade is of any real Benefit to the *Nation*, or even to the *Company* itself; and I think all impartial Men are convinced, by the Course of the Debate, that the *private Merchants* have had much the better of the Argument. It is confessed by the warmest Advocates on your Side, that the *Assiento Trade*, of it self, is a *losing Contract*, and that the *annual Ship* was granted upon this Consideration; but the Writers, on the other Side, go farther, and undertake to prove that the *annual Ship* it self (with the *Incumbrances* upon it, and the *Accidents* that attend it) does not make you Amends, and that the *Company* are Losers by their Trade, even with this suppos'd Advantage. They have, at least, incontestably proved that *this Contract* hath almost ruined our *Plantation Trade* and the *private Merchants*, who exported more of our *Manufactures*, as they alledge, into the *Spanish West-Indies*, and imported more of their Bullion into *England*, before *this Contract* was made, than the *Company* have done since; and consequently that it is prejudicial to the Kingdom, as well as the *Company*.

I refer Those of you, who are desirous of seeing this Controversy at large, to a Pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on the* Assiento *Trade, as it hath been exercised by the* South-Sea Company, *&c.* and to the *Defence* of it against the *Company's Factor*, printed in 1728; as well as to several Letters published since, upon the same Subject, in the *Whitehall Evening Post* and the *Daily Courant*; in which you will find these Points fully provided by an Induction of Particulars.

But as my Design is to address these Considerations to the Proprietors of *South-Sea Stock*, I will allow (for Argument Sake; though contrary to my firm Opinion and Belief) that the *Assiento Trade* would be advantageous to the *Company*, if freely exercised, according to their *Contract*, without any Interruption or Molestation; yet it will not surely be pretended that

it

it hath been advantageous hitherto, when we consider the *Losses* and *Seizures*, which it hath sustained in the Year 1718, and during the late Rupture. Your *Sub-Governor* acquainted you, upon the Reduction of your Interest to 4 *per Cent*, that the Losses of the *Company*, by these Seizures, were *insupportable*. He gave you Hopes, indeed, that you would have Satisfaction for them; but a *greater Man* than He hath since told us, in a *greater Assembly*, that the *Spaniards* have larger Demands upon the *Company*, than the *Company* have upon them; meaning, as we presume, the Share which the King of *Spain* hath reserved to Himself, by the *Assiento Contract*, out of the Profits of the *annual Ship*; for which, it is said, the Court of *Directors* have not accounted with his catholick Majesty since that *Contract* was made. This was not, at first, generally understood, when the *Gentleman* mention'd it; and I believe many of you are still unappriz'd that there is so large a Drawback as above one *fourth Part* of the clear Profits of this Ship, besides *Rigoldo's*, or *Bribes*, to the *Spanish* Governors, and *Thief Cargoes*, or Trade upon the private Account of your *own Managers*, for which only these *Bribes* are given; I say of *this Ship*, fitted out wholly at *your Expence*, and of which you run all the Hazards.

I think it therefore highly prudent and expedient to make some Enquiries into the present State of the *Company*, the Condition of your *Stock*, and the Conduct of *Those*, who have had the Management of it, before you engage your selves again in so precarious and disputable a Trade.

I hope the Gentlemen in the *Direction* will take no Offence at my proposing some *Queries* to you, which seem proper to be asked upon this Occasion.

Q. 1. Whether the Court of *Directors* have ever made up, or laid before their *Proprietors*, since the Year 1720, any Account of their *annual Profit*, or *Loss* by *Trade*, or why They have not; since This is

always usual in *private Partnerships*, and is at least equally necessary in a vast, *publick Joint-stock*, in which so many thousand Families are concerned.

2. Whether your *Factories* abroad have settled Accounts with the *Company*; or why They have not and for what Reason most of those *Factors* are still employed.

3. Whether the *Dividends* upon your Stock, for many Years past, have not greatly exceeded the *Interest* paid by the Government; and whether the *capital Stock* is not much lessen'd by these Means.

4. What is the Value of the *out-standing Bonds*; and whether the *Interest* upon them hath not greatly diminished the *capital Stock* likewise.

5. Whether there is Money sufficient, in the Company's Treasury, to pay off the said *Bonds*; and if there is not, whether it can be thought advisable to plunge you farther in Debt, by stamping *more Bonds*, to the Value of *three* or *four hundred thousand Pounds*, in order to dispatch the Cargo of this new propos'd Adventure, which may probably run the same Fate with the former.

6. Whether the *Spaniards* have made you any Reparation for the *first Seizures* made on the Company's Effects in the Years 1717 and 1718, any more than for Those made *since*.

7. Whether the *Company* have ever settled any Account with the Court of *Spain*, as to their Share of the Profits of the *annual Ships*, according to the Stipulation; and what those *great Demands* are, which we are told the *Spaniards* claim of the *Company* on that Head.

8. Whether putting so great a Value into the Power of the *Spaniards*, by sending an *annual Ship*, which They can lay their Hands upon at Pleasure, hath not been the chief Reason of tempting them to prey on the *British Trade*, by having always a Pledge in their Hands to prevent *Letters of Reprizal* being granted against

againſt them; and whether the Caſe is not become, by theſe Means, a *national Grievance*, as well as a *particular Evil*.

9. Whether it be moſt adviſeable ſtill to go on trading in *this Manner* and living by the *Loſs*, according to the Proverb; or for the *Proprietors* to go to Work in earneſt, and ſee how much They have loſt already, ſince the Year 1720, before They open their *Trade* again, and before it is too late to prevent *farther Loſſes*.

Theſe are Queſtions, Gentlemen, which I think very proper to be asked at this Time. You have certainly a Right to call upon your *Directors* for an Anſwer to them; and as your own Intereſt is ſo much concern'd in this Examination, I hope you will not ſuffer your ſelves to be kept any longer in the Dark, nor truſt your Properties implicitly to any Sett of Men, without demanding ſome Account of their Conduct.

It hath been obſerved very well, upon this Subject, that there are Multitudes of *Orphans* and *Minors*, whoſe Fortunes are veſted in the Stock of this Company, and order'd to remain there by the Appointment of their Parents, till They come of Age. It behoves us therefore, in Charity to Them, as well as Juſtice to your ſelves, to put you on your Guard and forewarn you againſt any *Projects*, or *Adventures*, which tend to their Prejudice, and the Diſſipation of their *capital Stock*.

I ſhall only add, that if you find, upon Enquiry, that this Trade is a *loſing Trade* (as I am afraid you will) and prejudicial to the Nation in general, as well as to the *Proprietors*; eſpecially under the preſent Circumſtances of the *Company*, with Relation to *Spain*; I hope you will not be perſuaded to purſue it any farther, by the Inſtigation of any *particular Perſon*, however great, who may endeavour to ſecure Himſelf in his

Poſt,

Poſt, by giving a little, preſent Life to *Trade*, and making your Fortune ſubſervient to his Intereſt. *D.R.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq*;

Dear old CRAFTY,

YOU muſt certainly have obſerved an inſolent Advertiſement, which hath been publiſh'd ſeveral Times in the *daily Papers*, giving Notice that one *Anthony le Blain*, a famous BALLANCE-MASTER, (as He calls Himſelf) is lately arrived from PARIS, and pretends to a greater Perfection in that *Art* than any Perſon in theſe Kingdoms.

This, Mr. *D'Anvers*, is a freſh Inſtance of the Vanity of the *French* Nation, who look upon themſelves as ſuperior to all their Neighbours in every Art and Science, both civil and military. At the ſame Time that the late Duke of *Marlborough* beat them in every Action in the Field, which He undertook, the *grand Monarch* heard of nothing, from his Flatterers, but Congratulations upon his Victories and heroick Exploits; and whilſt our *preſent incomparable Stateſmen* make as ſhining a Figure in the *Cabinet*, and turn the Fate of *Europe* at their Pleaſure, an impudent *Gaſcoigne* comes over hither, and challenges the whole *Britiſh* Nation to vye with Him in the Art of *Ballancing*. What makes his Aſſurance the more ridiculous is, that as the ENGLISH were always eſteem'd the greateſt *Ballance-maſters* in *Europe*, ſo it is well known that there is, at this Time, one of our Countrymen at *Paris*, who hath diſtinguiſh'd Himſelf by his great Skill in *Ballancing*, beyond any of his Predeceſſors, and hath truly perform'd his Part there (as Monſieur *le Blain* expreſſes it) *to the Admiration of all Spectators*.

Such

Such a Fellow as This is beneath the Reſentment of the Publick, and deſerves to be treated only with Contempt. He may, perhaps, divert the Mob for ſome Time with his Monkey Tricks; but Men of Senſe will laugh at Him and deſpiſe Him. I am only ſorry that the celebrated Mr. *Fawks* (who is really a great Artiſt in his Way) ſhould be ſo far impoſed upon by this *vain Braggadocio*, as to ſuffer Him to perform in his Theatre, and bring ſuch a Scandal upon the *brighteſt Genius's* of his native Country.

It muſt be confeſs'd, indeed, that the Encouragement, which hath been ſhewn, of late, to ſome monſtrous, *foreign Diverſions*, may give this Fellow Hopes of meeting with the ſame Eclat; but however he may ſucceed for the preſent, I have the Pleaſure to obſerve that our inimitable *Ballance-maſter* is ſpeedily expected from *Paris*, and will, upon his Arrival, put this *arrogant Pretender* quite out of Countenance.

I am, Sir, &c.

N° 174. SATURDAY, *Nov.* 1, 1729.

Or doſt Thou grieve indignant now to ſee
The fruitleſs End of all thy Victory;
To ſee th' audacious Foe, ſo late ſubdued,
Diſpute thoſe Terms, for which ſo long He ſued;
As if Britannia *now were ſunk ſo low,*
To beg that Peace *ſhe wonted to beſtow.*

CONGREVE to COBHAM.

THE following Letter is written in ſo maſterly a Manner, that I cannot have the Vanity to poſtpone it to what I propoſed, for this Day, on the ſame Subject; which I ſhall now defer to another Opportunity. I hope the Publication of this Letter (which is intirely agreeable to my own Sentiments) will be an indiſputable Proof of my Veneration for the Memory of King *WILLIAM*, our immortal Deliverer from *civil*, as well as *eccleſiaſtical* Oppreſſion; and of my Attachment to the preſent Royal Family, which, by his Care and unwearied Labours for our Good, is now eſtabliſhed on the Throne.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq*;

SIR,

GRatitude is a *political*, as well as a *moral* Virtue, and is no leſs an amiable Quality in States and Nations than in private Life. I think there cannot be

be a more certain Mark of the prevailing Degeneracy and Corruption of a People, and conſequently of their impending Ruin, than when a *great Deliverance*, wrought but a few Years before, and in the Memory of many living, is in a Manner quite forgot, and the *Hero*, who was the Inſtrument of Providence in bringing it about, almoſt intirely buried in Oblivion. I will not paſs ſo bad a Compliment on the preſent Age, as to ſay that This is the Caſe of our Nation, with reſpect to King *WILLIAM*; though I muſt own, that I have often grieved to hear his illuſtrious Name frequently mentioned with ſo much Coldneſs, even by *Thoſe*, who make the higheſt Pretenſions to the Principles of *Liberty*. Whether This proceeds from their governing Themſelves by Maxims and Counſels, which are the very Reverſe of Thoſe, that prevailed whilſt He was on the Throne; or that They are ſecretly conſcious to Themſelves, that the Effect of all their Labours and political Schemes is the undoing of what was done in his Time, I ſhall not preſume to determine.

As the Anniverſary of his *Birth* and *landing in England* is to be celebrated next Week, I am ſure, Mr. *D'Anvers*, (notwithſtanding the poor Calumnies of ſome *obſcure Wretches*) you will heartily join with me in commemorating ſome of the many beneficial Things, which Heaven was pleaſed to do for us by the Hand of this *great Prince*. It is impoſſible, in this ſhort Eſſay, to deſcribe the diſmal Situation we were in, when He came to reſcue us. Our Conſtitution was totally ſubverted; our Rights and Liberties invaded in the moſt open, undiſguiſed Manner; and *religious*, as well as *civil Slavery* in a fair Way of being intailed on theſe Nations for ever. Then it was that the immortal *WILLIAM* the *third* interpoſed, and not only relieved us from theſe Oppreſſions, but put our Privileges on a more ſure Footing than ever they were before. Our Anceſtors had, almoſt from the

Beginning of the Monarchy, been asserting their Liberties, and bravely contending against the Incroachments of the Crown. It was not the House of *Stuart* only, that attempted to stretch the *Prerogative*. The best of the *Tudors* and *Plantagenets* have, at Times, made very free with the Rights of their People. But during the Reign of our *glorious Deliverer*, the People of *Great Britain* had an Opportunity of settling their Constitution on so firm a Basis, that is now impossible for any *Prince* to over-turn it. No; it must now last as long as the Island itself; unless, by a fatal Infatuation, it shall ever be basely given up by the *People themselves*; an Event, which no human Wisdom can guard against. The *Bill of Rights* (which, however defective in some Particulars, may be justly called a *second Magna Charta* of *England*) was intirely the Workmanship of his Hands. Such a *Bill* was proposed by his Highness in his Declaration at the *Hague*, as the only Remedy of the numberless Calamities, under which our Country then groan'd, before it was, I believe, once thought of by our most zealous Patriots at home. It is in *this Bill* that the Rights and Privileges of the *English* Subjects are so clearly defined, and the Pretensions of the Crown so wisely limited, that no Prince since that Time, ever hath, and I dare say none will ever be so hardy as to attempt a Power to *dispense with our Laws*; that great Grievance of the *English* Nation in former Times.

The *Liberty of the Press*, and the *Act of Toleration*, those two inestimable Blessings, date their Commencement from this happy Period. The retrieving of our *Coin*, when sunk so low in its Value, that the most sanguine Friends of the Government despaired of ever remedying so fatal an Evil, will always be a standing Proof of his superior Genius, and that nothing was too difficult for *Him* and his *Ministers*, where the Good of the Publick was concerned.

As

As his Designs were great, just and generous, so his Measures of pursuing them were plain, uniform and undisguised. His *Ministers*, like Himself, were Men of great Abilities and Integrity. *Ignorance*, in his Reign, was not esteemed *Merit*; nor was *Merit* thought any Disqualification for Preferment. *Arts* and *Sciences*, and *Learning* of all Kinds were encouraged, and the Patrons of them advanced to the highest Stations in Church and State. *Tillotson* adorn'd the *Mitre*; *Holt* dispens'd the *Crown-Law*; and *Somers* and *Halifax* presided in the *Cabinet*.

But his Care and Vigilance were not confin'd to our domestick Interests only. If we turn our Eyes abroad, we shall find *Great-Britain*, under his auspicious Government, rising in her Figure, and of greater Weight in the Affairs of *Europe*, than ever she had been, since the glorious Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Situation, Riches, Trade and naval Force of this Island may make her, at any Time, very considerable and courted by her Neighbours; but all these Advantages, in the Hands of *weak*, *ignorant Men*, will bring Contempt upon a Nation, instead of being of any real Service to it. We have seen, in more Reigns than one, mighty and formidable Sea-Armaments, commanded by Officers of undisputed Bravery and Conduct, sent abroad to several Parts of the World only to proclaim the Insufficiency and Stupidity of the *Ministers*, who drew up their *Orders*. Quite different was the Case in this Reign. Our Fleets triumph'd wherever they came; and, in a few Years, gave such a fatal Blow to the then potent and flourishing naval Forces of *France*, that they never began to recover till very lately, by the particular Management of *some Gentlemen*, whom every Body knows. Indeed, next to the personal Bravery and great Abilities of our Sovereign, nothing contributed more to our growing Reputation, than the Situation We were then in, with Respect to *foreign Princes*. We had no *unnatural Allyances*. All our *Confederates*

were our *Friends* by their *own Intereſt*; and we had no War but with our natural Enemies the *French*, which hath always proved happy for *England*; whereas I defy any Perſon to produce one ſingle Inſtance of our doing any great Things, or ſo much as of our making but a tolerable Figure, when in Conjunction with them. Happy was it for *Us*, happy for all *Europe*, that the humbling and keeping within due Bounds the exorbitant Ambition of *Lovis le Grand* was the reigning Inclination of King *William*'s Soul. Though the Parliament was vaſtly more ſparing of their Money than they have ever been ſince; though *Aids* and *Taxes* were not near ſo liberally granted, as we have ſeen them of late Years; how effectually did our Monarch check his unjuſt Attempts, and put a Stop to thoſe mighty Deſigns, which, if crown'd with Succeſs, muſt of Courſe have enſlaved Chriſtendom? Then, if We conſider that the immortal Duke of *Marlborough*, and all the other great Generals in Queen *Anne*'s War, only walked in his Steps and followed the Plan laid down by Him; We ſhall find all thoſe Laurels, which were gained in the ſecond *French* War, originally owing to Him. Our Country was then bleſs'd with *Stateſmen*, who underſtood the Intereſt of the Nation, being well verſed in *foreign Affairs*; and, what ſeldom happens, we were then equal to the *French* in the *Cabinet*, as well as in the *Field*. What a glorious Figure did *England* make in the Treaty of *Ryſwick?* Her Deciſions were a Law to all her *Allies*; and *France* was obliged to comply with her Demands. With what a noble Scorn and Contempt did our *heroick Sovereign* reply to the *French Plenipotentiaries*, who made a great Merit of their owning his Right to the Crown of *Great-Britain*; *that they might withdraw* that Article, *if They pleaſed*; *for he was King of a People, who were able to defend his Title againſt the* French, *and all his Oppoſers*. I know the *Partition Treaty* is commonly alledg'd, to prove that we were Bubbles to *France* then, as well

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as we have been ſince. I confeſs, indeed, that the only material Error of King *William*'s Reign was his *once*, and *but once*, truſting to *France*; which I hope will be no Injury to his Memory, but rather a Warning to our Countrymen never to engage too deeply with a Nation, which by its Situation will always find its Account in our Diſtreſſes and Calamities. But I wiſh the Gentlemen, who object *This*, would conſider how ſoon King *William* perceived his Error; that He did not go on from *one Miſtake* to *another*; nor ſuffer Himſelf to be trifled with for ſeveral Years together. No; upon the firſt Diſcovery of the Inſincerity of that faithleſs Court, He early concerted ſuch Meaſures, as were afterwards ſo bravely executed by the *Engliſh* and their *Confederates*, whom he had taught to conquer.

In this glorious Reign, We had no tedious, ſauntering *Congreſſes*, ſtrolling from one Town to another, and ſhifting Places as often as the *French* Court; no teazing and bribing our Allies for a *Peace*, which we deſpair'd of obtaining by our own Addreſs. It was not then in the Power either of our pretended Friends, or real Enemies, to tie up our Hands, or prevent us from making Uſe of a numerous and brave Fleet, fitted out at immenſe Charges, and yet with great Chearfulneſs, by a People, who were fond of putting their Prince and Country in a Condition to do Themſelves Juſtice by more noble Methods than a ſlaviſh Dependance on *foreign Counſels and Allies*, whoſe Intereſt it is to weaken and impoveriſh us. We then had *Miniſters*, who defended our *Plantations*, by erecting Forts in neceſſary Places, and ſending Troops to their Aſſiſtance, without asking Leave of a *Foreigner*; nor durſt any imperious *French Prieſt* preſume to make them ſhamefully deſiſt, or to diſmiſs their *Tranſports*, after They were actually contracted for to carry them over. No *Embargoes* were then laid on our Shipping on *falſe Alarms*; and, by *meer Indolence* and *Forgetfulneſs*, con-

tinued long after the Falſhood of ſuch Rumours was generally known; as if the moſt beneficial Part of our Commerce was below the Notice of *Miniſters*; and it was of no worſe Conſequence to detain a vaſt Number of richly laden Merchant Ships, than for my Lord PUZZLE to keep a *Levee-hunter* hanging on half a Day in his Anti-Chamber. Our *Navy* was then our Glory and our Defence, far from being a Reproach to us, and a ſtanding Jeſt all over *Europe*. The Reputation of a *Britiſh Miniſtry* did not then run ſo low, nor did their Conduct ſtand in Need of ſuch wretched Excuſes, as to complain that all their Negotiations abroad were fruſtrated by *malecontent Wretches* at home, and all their Forces and Projects baffled by *Pamphlets* and *News-papers*; which, on other Occaſions, They pretended to deſpiſe. It would not have been reckoned a great Matter of Triumph, at that time, to have obtained a *Peace*, after more than three Years bribing and importuning of *foreign Courts*; nor would a *Miniſter* then have been eſteem'd a *Machiavel*, who after frequently boaſting *that He had finally adjuſted all the Affairs of his Country*, was forced to leap at a *patch'd-up Truce*, and ſet his Hirelings at Work to extol Him for ſuch a Maſterpiece of Policy; though He might have had it long before on the *ſame Terms*; which, if then accepted, might have diminiſh'd the Expences of the Publick, and ſaved the Scandal of ſuch contradictory Management. I do not mention it, amongſt the Glories peculiar to this Reign, that our *Trade* was protected, and that our *Merchants* had Liberty to defend themſelves and their Properties, or to revenge their Loſſes on the Enemy; becauſe, even under the *very worſt of Adminiſtrations*, when our Affairs were at the greateſt Extremity, and our *Miniſters* the moſt under *foreign Influence*, there is not, I believe, one Inſtance in our Hiſtory of denying them this *natural Right*. It was always a Thing granted of Courſe, and as ſoon as demanded. How

would

would it have ſhock'd the *Miniſters* of this *great King*; how would They have mourn'd *their own*, and their *Prince*'s, and their *Country*'s deplorable Condition, if all their Hopes and Expectations, all their Negotiations and Treaties had been in the Power, and lain at the Mercy of their worſt Enemy, the *French King*, or his *Prime Miniſter?*

But not to inſiſt any longer on this negative Deſcription of our *great Deliverer*'s Reign, I could not acquit myſelf of Ingratitude, if I forgot to take Notice that the greateſt, and indeed the only Security of all the Bleſſings procured to us by King *William*, was the ſettling the Succeſſion to the Crown in the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*. To This, his moſt valuable Legacy, we are indebted for the undiſturb'd Poſſeſſion of all our Liberties and Privileges, and for his moſt gracious Majeſty now on the Throne; whoſe Goodneſs, Juſtice and Integrity will always endear Him to his Subjects; for whatever Objections ſome Gentlemen are pleas'd to make againſt the Conduct of our *preſent Miniſters*, I never yet met with one unprejudiced Perſon, who was not ſatisfied that his Majeſty had the Good and Intereſt of all his Subjects intirely at Heart, and would always make the *Laws of the Land the Meaſure of his Government.*

Cornhill, Oct. 23. *I am, SIR, &c.*

R.

From my own Chambers.

IT is a ſad Thing for a Man to make *raſh Vows*; as I am very ſenſible I did, when I promiſed to conſider what a *certain Writer* (who calls Himſelf *Atticus*) ſhould be pleas'd to communicate, concerning the Continuance of the united Fleet at *Spithead*, during the whole Summer. It may be neceſſary therefore, for the Satisfaction of ſome particular Perſons, juſt to take Notice of this Man; tho' I find the World in general

are inclined to discharge me of the Obligation, and do not seem to expect that I should answer a Letter, which is so far from teeming with *Arguments* and *Reasons*, as He promis'd us, that it is most egregiously void of *grammatical Construction* and *common Sense*.

He begins in the Style of a *Bravo*, and tells the World, that Mr. *D'Anvers often says That of a Man, He don't dare say to Him.* Now, if He means by This, that I don't dare speak my Mind, in plain Terms, to his *Patron*, I confess there is some Truth in it; and, I think, I could give several political Reasons, which would make it very improper to deal so frankly with a *Gentleman in his Station*; but if *Atticus* means *Himself* only, I can assure Him that I shall never be afraid of saying That *to* Him, which all the World says *of* Him.

In the mean Time, let us take a short View of his *Reasons*, which He seems to be conscious will not be *satisfactory to* Me, *though they should prove highly so to all Mankind besides.* Why truly, He is quite in the Right as to *my self.* They are far from giving me any *Satisfaction*; and if in This I should be so unhappy as to differ from *all the rest of Mankind*, (as this *Sham-Atticus*, this *Instrument of Government*, modestly insinuates) I can't help it. Alas! I have long had the Misfortune of dissenting from *Majorities!*

Sir *Richard Steele* observed, in his Letter to Sir *Miles Wharton*, *that many extraordinary Things had been brought about*, at that Time, *upon a Maxim no deeper than* PAX *potior* BELLO; PEACE *is better than* WAR; and I think all the Reasons of *Atticus*, and his *Brother-Writers*, for the *pacifick Fleet*, now in Dispute, may be summed up in another Maxim, equally deep; *Pax quæritur Bello; Peace is obtained by War*; or, according to their Explanation, by *warlike Preparations* and *Menaces, without striking a Blow.* I wish this Maxim may hold good in the present Instance. It is well known that We have been *making Peace, Sword in Hand*

Hand (according to this Maxim) above these three Years together, without Success; and I do not find that this *domestick Expedition* hath yet produced any better Effect than all our former *Expeditions abroad*; but I am willing to hope, with *Atticus*, that We shall soon see the good Effect of it.

He tells us, that the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* made the Equipment of this Squadron necessary; that all the chief Powers, who were able to injure us, threatned us with *military Preparations, and that there does not appear to have been any Assurances, which might be depended on, that they would not instantly have enter'd upon Action.* See what Discoveries Time hath made! During the *last Session*, We were told very confidently, that the Affairs of *Europe* were in a very good Situation; and We had very solemn *Assurances* given us, that a *Peace* was so far advanced, that it wanted only the *Form of a Treaty*; but indeed I never thought, for my Part, that *these Assurances could be depended on.*

Well then, a *great Fleet* was necessary at this Juncture—For what? Why, says the *Apologist, to avert this* impending Storm; *to protect our* Trade; *to procure Satisfaction by Arms for* Depredations *already committed, and to force a* Compliance, *necessary to the Tranquility of* Europe. Here it is proper to remark that the *first of these Reasons* is the same that I urged in Justification of this *Fleet; that it had secured us from any* Invasions, *or Attempts, which might otherwise have been made, in Favour of the* PRETENDER; though I never heard of any *intended Embarkation* for that Purpose, till *this Writer* was pleased to acquaint us with it. I did not indeed mention, amongst my *Reasons*, the Protection of our *Trade*, and procuring Satisfaction for *past Depredations*, because I did not find that those good Ends were then obtained by it. Neither am I yet fully convinc'd that *this Fleet hath forced the* Spaniards *into a Compliance with our Demands.*

But

But, says the *Apologist* again, *why might not* Those, *who had before insulted us by* Land, *and unjustly ravaged by* Sea, *have done the same again, had They not been awed by the Terror of our* Navy? *How, without* This, *might They not for a Time have usurp'd the* Sovereignty *of the Seas*; *infested our* Coasts; *interrupted all* Commerce; *and done us infinite* Damage *and* Dishonour?——To all which I shall only say, that I wish our Accounts from the *West-Indies* did not confirm the Continuance of these *Insults* and *Ravages*, which *infest our Coasts*, and *interrupt all Commerce in those Parts*, to our *infinite Damage* (and I am afraid I might say) our *Dishonour*.

The *Apologist* goes on, and asks; *how highly probable is it, that to* this Fleet *We owe the Preservation of so valuable an Acquisition as* Jamaica? I am glad to hear, that *this Island* is ever so happy as to have a Share in the Consultations of *Great-Britain*; but the Gentlemen of *Jamaica*, according to all Advices from thence, had no Apprehensions of this Nature, nor felt any Uneasiness, after the first Alarm, but what proceeded from a *long Embargo*, in the most critical Season, and the Continuance of *martial Law*, for several Months, upon this Occasion.

But *how unhappy is it* (says our *Atticus*) *that so judicious, so wise a People as the* Dutch *should differ from Mr.* D'Anvers?—Really, I am not conscious of any Difference between their *High-Mightinesses* and *My self*; and I hope it will not be in the Power of the *Apologist* to create one between us. But This hath been an Argument much insisted on, to justify the Equipment and Continuance of the Fleet at *Spithead*; that it must have been done *for very good Reasons*, because the *Dutch* co-operated with Us. Whereas I can see no manner of force in it; for it is possible that the *Dutch* might have *secret Reasons* for their Conduct, which are not yet communicated to the World; or perhaps our *Malecontents* will take the Liberty to say,

that

that the wiſeſt People may happen to play the Fool *upon ſome Occaſions.*

Mr. *Atticus* does me the Honour to copy after me in his Juſtification of *this Fleet*, on another Account; I mean the *Money*, which hath been ſpent at *Portſmouth*, and other Places, by People, who went to ſee it. He tells us, *that the* Country *does not complain of the Fleet's lying at* Spithead; *or that the Money was ſpent at home, rather than abroad*; which is, I think, an excellent Argument for always keeping our Fleets in *our own Harbours*, or upon *our own Coaſts.*

However, We muſt do Him the Juſtice to acknowledge, that He inſiſts upon greater Matters; for He ſays, that *purſuant to This* (the Combination of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Squadrons) *We heard of their making* Advances, *coming into* Conceſſions, *abating in their* Demands, *removing* Obſtacles, *giving* agreeable Aſſurances, *and doing the utmoſt could be expected to ſhew their Inclination to renew the antient Amity ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.* I wiſh I could congratulate my Country on the Truth and Certainty of theſe Particulars; for if this *proviſional Fleet* (as *another Writer* calls it) hath actually forc'd the *Spaniards* into a *Compliance*, it is needleſs to produce any other Reaſons in its Juſtification. But we have not yet received any Account that they have *comply'd*; which I think We ſhould have obliged them to do, before the Fleet was *ſeparated*; for though it might, perhaps, have ſome Effect upon them, whilſt it lay in that formidable Manner at *Spithead*; yet They may reſort to their uſual Evaſions, now that Terror is withdrawn, and put us to the Expence of another ſuch Fleet, next Summer, for the ſame Purpoſe.

But to go farther; ſuppoſing the *Spaniards* are in a Diſpoſition to *comply*, I think it very probable that it is not owing ſo much to *this Fleet*, as to the Incident of the *Dauphin's Birth*, which hath broke the *Spaniſh Faction*

Faction in *France*. This Point hath been much insisted on by the Writers on the *other Side*; and I will defy *some Persons*, as *Englishmen*, to give any other Reason for their extraordinary and extravagant Joy upon this Occasion.

Atticus therefore might as well have summ'd up his whole *Apology* with saying, *that the* Dauphin's Birth *was intirely owing to the Fleet at* Spithead.

I doubt not that the Gentlemen, in the publick Direction, are able to give much better Reasons for this Armament, than their *Apologist*, when call'd upon in a proper Place, and by a proper Authority; for otherwise our *Malecontents* would have Reason for calling it a very *useless*, *ill-advis'd* and *unjustifiable Equipment*.

I have neither Room nor Inclination to take any Notice of all the low, senseless Ribaldry, with which his *Letter* abounds; and shall only observe farther, that I believe the NOBLE PERSON, whom He charges me with aspersing, will be much less offended with any Thing I have written, than with the prostitute Flattery of a *Writer*, who not only defies us to point out *one false Step*, or *bad Action*, during the whole Course of his Administration, but undertakes likewise that He *never will be guilty of any*.

I will conclude with a seasonable Passage out of *Machiavel's Prince*, which is doing this *Scribbler* too much Honour, as it is quoting one of the *best Writers upon Politicks* against the *very worst*.

" The *Romans* acted as all wise Princes ought to " do, who are to have an Eye not only upon *present*, " but *future Incommodities*, and to redress them with " all possible Industry; for *Dangers*, that are *seen afar* " *off*, are easily prevented; but *protracting* till They " are at Hand, the Remedies grow unseasonable, and " the Malady incurable. It falls out in this Case, as " the Physicians say of an *hectick Fever*; that at first " it is easily cured and hard to be known; but in

Process

" Proceſs of Time, not being obſerved or reſiſted in " the Beginning, it becomes eaſy to be known, but " very difficult to be cured. So it is in *Matters of* " *State*. Things, which are diſcover'd at a Diſtance, " (which is done only by *prudent Men*) produce little " Miſchief, but what is eaſily averted; but when, " through *Ignorance* or *Inadvertency*, They come to " that Height that every one diſcerns them, there is " no Room for any Remedy, and the Diſeaſe is in- " curable. The *Romans* therefore, foreſeeing their " Trouble afar off, oppos'd themſelves in Time, and " never *ſwallow'd any Injury to put off a* WAR; for " they knew that *War* was not *avoided*, but *deferred* " thereby, and commonly *with Advantage to the* " *Enemy*. Wherefore They choſe rather to make War " upon *Philip* and *Antiochus* in *Greece*, than ſuffer " them to invade *Italy*; and yet, at that Time, there " was no Neceſſity of either. They might have avoided " both; but they thought it not fit; for They could " never reliſh the Saying, that is ſo frequent in the " Mouth of our NEW POLITICIANS, *to enjoy the pre-* " *ſent Benefit of Time*; but prefer'd the Exerciſe of " their Courage and Wiſdom; for *Time* carries all " Things along with it, and may bring *Good*, as well " as *Evil*, and *Evil* as well as *Good*."

GRAY's-INN, *Oct.* 27. 1729.

D. CAL. D'ANVERS.

N° 175. SATURDAY, *Nov.* 8, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

SIR,

I Did myself the Honour, about this Time Twelve-month, to send you some Remarks on the *Spanish Depredations* in the *West-Indies*. The Continuance of the same Outrage, and the fresh Misfortunes of *two of our most considerable Colonies* there, call upon me to trouble you once more in their Behalf. The long *Embargoes*, which have been laid upon the Ships at *Jamaica* and *Virginia*, are well known to every one. The Complaints of the *Merchants* are very loud and frequent on this Account; and, if what they say be true, (as I am always inclin'd to believe the *Merchants*) these *Embargoes* have done us very near as much Prejudice as the Violence and open Force of the *Spaniards*; for I am inform'd that the *French*, by these Means, have been able to stock the *European* Markets with *Sugar* and *Tobacco*; while our Commodities of that Kind lie neglected on our Hands. Indeed the Customs this Year will rise higher from our *small Exportation*, and consequently from the *few Drawbacks*, which will be paid; so that there will be no Likelyhood of an *Arrear*, or *Deficiency* to be supply'd again. But as the *French* have had an Opportunity of breaking in upon our *Plantation Trade*, it is certain that our *Colonies* must decline more and more; and the *Customs*,

which receive large Supplies from thence, must decrease for the future, and the *civil List* fall off, in Proportion to the Decay of our *Trade*. No good Subject can see any Abatement in *this Part* of the Revenue, without great Concern; because so large a Share of it is appropriated for his *Majesty's Houshold*, to support the great and necessary Expence of it with proper Lustre, Dignity and Honour.

But if this Fact of the *Embargoes*, and the Consequences of them be true, it may perhaps be worth our while to consider what Right in general a *Governor* of a Plantation has to lay an *Embargo* on Shipping; and, in the next Place, if there be such a Right, what true and justifiable Cause there was, in the present Case, for these *long* and *mischievous Embargoes* at *Jamaica* and *Virginia*.

As to the *first*, I have been informed, that it has been much controverted by eminent Lawyers, whether even the *King* himself has, by Law, a Power to lay an *Embargo*. It is certainly, during the Time, an entire Stop to *Trade* in that Instance. It puts the Property of the Subject absolutely in the Power of the *Prince*, and makes him, in that particular, compleatly *arbitrary*. But considering that *absolute Necessity* may justify such a Power; that there must be a *real Cause* for the Exercise of it, equal to the Power itself; and that the only Rule and Measure of exercising it is the Welfare and Safety of the Nation; I think the *King* has this Power, and may use it under these several Limitations. But if there be no *true*, *real*, and *great Cause* for executing this Part of Sovereignty; or if it take any other Turn than the *publick Good*; then it is no longer *Prerogative*, but *arbitrary*, *lawless Will*.

But it does by no Means follow, that though the *King* may have this *special* and *great Prerogative*, therefore a *Governor of a Colony* should have it; for perhaps This may be an *inherent*, *incommunicable Prerogative*

not *grantable* to the Subject; or ſhould it be *grantable*, yet if it be not *actually granted*, no *Governor* of a Plantation can do ſuch an Act, without the Concurrence of the Legiſlature of that Country. Their Conſent is neceſſary; becauſe they are to be bound, and ſuffer all the Conſequences of ſuch a Reſolution.

But ſuppoſing farther, that our *Plantation-Governors* are capable of having this Power; and moreover that they all have it in their *Commiſſions*; the next Point to be conſider'd will be, what true and juſtifiable Cauſe there was for theſe *long Embargoes*.

As to *Jamaica*, the Apprehenſion we had of a Deſcent from the *Spaniards* was the publick Reaſon of that *Embargo*; and as I am a Well-wiſher to the *Miniſtry*, I will ſuppoſe Information was given to them, either by our *Ambaſſadors abroad*, or by *ſome Ally* entirely in our Intereſts. I will ſuppoſe that the Deſign was *really intended*; nay that Meaſures were actually taken by the *Spaniards* for an Invaſion; that immediately, upon ſuch Information here, *Advice* of it was ſent abroad, and not only *Advice*, but *proper*, and *timely Aſſiſtance*; for if any of Theſe fail, then the Queſtion will recur whether there was a *juſt Cauſe* for this *Embargo*. I know it has been objected by the *Jacobite Party*, that a Squadron of *Men of War*, with a proper Number of *Soldiers*, ſhould have been ſent to *Jamaica* at the ſame Time, that the Account of the *intended Invaſion* was ſent thither; but ſuch an *armed Force* muſt needs have given Umbrage to our *Allies*, and have intirely diſturbed the *pacifick Meaſures* hitherto taken by us. I am however confident of This, that ſome *Aſſiſtance* was ſent; tho' I am afraid it fell into the Hands of the *Guarda Coſta's*, becauſe I have not heard that any has yet arrived at *Jamaica*.

As to *Virginia*, I am indeed at a Loſs to give any ſufficient Reaſon for that *Embargo*. That Colony is a good Way removed from the *Spaniards*; ſo that there could

could be no Apprehenſions from them. The *French* are our Boſom Friends; I mean in *Europe*; for in the *Weſt-Indies* they do us all the Miſchief they can, and ſtir up the *Indians* to invade our Plantations. Perhaps, ſome Invaſion of *this Sort* might occaſion that *Embargo*. The *French* have large Settlements at *Canada*, and down the *Miſſiſippi*, equal to ours in their Extent, as well as the Goodneſs and Variety of their Commodities. They are likewiſe encreaſing and improving them every Day. They are now ſettling *Santa Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, in the Neighbourhood of *Barbadoes*, and which lie in a moſt advantageous Situation to interrupt all the *Leeward-Iſland Trade*, and to be protected by their great Settlement at *Martinico*. I am unwilling to believe that our late Misfortunes are owing to them; for They certainly are in our Intereſts, notwithſtanding the Suggeſtions of *Jacobites* and *Malecontents*; becauſe it is ſo much their Advantage to be true to, and ſincere with us. And though they have received immenſe Benefit from *theſe Embargoes*, yet I am perſuaded it was only *accidental*, and did not proceed from any *Scheme*, or *labour'd Deſign*. I will likewiſe ſuppoſe here, as I did in the Caſe of *Jamaica*, that there was a *juſt Cauſe* for *this Embargo*; and that the Meaſures were *wiſe* and *neceſſary*; for I can never bring myſelf to think that any *one Miniſter*, or a *whole Miniſtry*, could direct a Thing of ſuch an extraordinary Nature, as an *Embargo* is, unleſs it was certain that there was a *great* and *impending Miſchief*. Such Conduct would be very *weak* and *dangerous*; becauſe the Legiſlature have, in many Acts of Parliament, expreſs'd the Senſe they had of the *great Importance* of *our Plantations*; and the *Neglect of them* was made a principal Article of *high Treaſon* againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*; who, though greatly deſerving of his Country in many Reſpects, could not, on this Account, eſcape the juſt Reſentment and Indignation of the *Houſe of Commons*.

You will obſerve, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that theſe Obſervations, on the Subject of *Embargoes*, are as *general* as I could poſſibly make them, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances of our *Colonies* and *Plantations*; but I muſt do the *Governor* of *Jamaica* the Juſtice to acknowledge, that I have been informed He laid his *Inſtructions*, concerning this Deſcent of the *Spaniards*, before the *Council* of that Iſland, and made their Advice the Guide of his Conduct, in laying the *Embargo*, and declaring *martial Law*. I hope the Governor of *Virginia* took the ſame Precaution. But it is not my Buſineſs to enquire by *whoſe prevailing Authority* This was done. Certain it is, that it hath been of very great Prejudice to our *Trade*, and if it cannot be warranted by *ſubſtantial Reaſons*, *Somebody* ought to be anſwerable for it; a Point, which I think deſerves the Conſideration of the *Legiſlature*.

I am, SIR, &c.

C. W. RALEIGH.

N° 176. SATURDAY, *November* 15, 1729.

" The painful Struggle under ſo great a Difficulty,
" as explaining with a *Miniſtry* in open Contradiction
" to their Proceedings, is what can be ſupported by
" nothing leſs than the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience,
" and an Heart pure from a vicious Ambition. And Theſe
" are ſuch Supports as will keep a Man from *languiſhing*
" *in Diſcontent, ſhould* HE, *amidſt the Proſperities of the*
" Cauſe

" Cauſe *He hath endeavoured to ſerve, live to find* " *Zeal for the Publick*, of all human Virtues, the " moſt expoſed to the cool Comfort of being *its own* " *Reward*; and That, which was undertaken againſt " the Inclinations to Mirth and Pleaſure, out of a " Senſe of Duty and Honour, to have little other Ef- " fect, than to become a *Man's Characteriſtick*, and " by that Means to give a *turbulent Air to all his* " *other Pretenſions*; and even to ſink the Agreeable- " neſs of the *Friend* and *Companion*, by the Appear- " ance of ſomewhat ſuppoſed to be demanding in the " *Patriot*.

Sir RICHARD STEELE's *Dedication to the Earl of* Clare, *now Duke of* Newcaſtle.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq*;

SIR,

YOUR *little, nibbling Adverſaries* have call'd upon you very clamorouſly, for ſome Weeks paſt, to juſtify an Aſſertion, which you dropt in a curſory Manner, concerning the late Sir *Richard Steele*; *viz.* *That* ſome Perſons, *who not only* neglected *Him, but uſed him* infamouſly, *when living, are now endeavouring to do themſelves Honour by* raiſing Monuments *to his Memory*; which laſt Expreſſion They explain in a *literal Senſe*, and apply it to a *certain Gentleman*, who was ſaid, in our News Papers, to have a Deſign of erecting a Monument to his Memory in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. Whereas I believe you intended it only in a *metaphorical Senſe*, and apply'd it to all Thoſe, who *mal-treated* Him, when *living*, and affected to *praiſe* and *extol* Him, after He was *dead*; for by uſing the Term *ſome Perſons*, in the plural Number, you could not mean to direct it againſt any *one particular Gentleman*; though I conceive that it would be no very

difficult Matter to juſtify it, even in *that Senſe*, if it was a Matter of ſufficient Importance to deſerve the Attention of the Publick. That He thought Himſelf *neglected*, appears very plainly from the Quotation, placed at the Head of this Letter, from his Dedication to the preſent Duke of *Newcaſtle*, which was publiſh'd ſo early in the laſt Reign as the Year 1715. How he was uſed, ſome Years after, with Regard to his *Patent*, for the Government of the *old Play-houſe*, is very well known to moſt People, and may be ſeen in the Papers, intitled the *Theatre*, which He publiſhed on that Occaſion. I could alſo refer to his Letter to the late *Earl of* OXFORD, publiſh'd about the ſame Time, and to ſome other Writings, which fully manifeſt his own Senſe of the Conduct of *certain Gentlemen*, and the Treatment He received from them; which made Him frequently call Himſelf the *Grenadier of a Party*, who fought for them, and run the greateſt Hazards for a very ſmall Reward. Nay, it is well known that no Endeavours were ſpared even to render Him contemptible and ridiculous, both *within Doors* and *without*. Whether He received as much as He *deſerv'd*, is what I ſhall not pretend to determine, in this *nice Age of proportioning Rewards to Merit and Service*, as He expreſſes it Himſelf. It is a Point as foreign to the preſent Queſtion, (*whether Sir* Richard Steele *was ill uſed or not*) as if I ſhould aſſert *that* ſome other Perſons *have received much more than They* deſerved.

I think you therefore very much in the Right, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to wave ſuch perſonal Controverſies as Theſe; which can be of no Service to the Publick, and are thrown out with no other View than to divert you from more important Enquiries. I mention it only by Way of Introduction to another Point, of the greateſt Conſequence to us, as a flouriſhing People; I mean the preſent State of DUNKIRK; an Affair, in which Sir *Richard Steele* formerly ſignaliz'd Himſelf in ſo remarkable Manner.

I

I refer the Reader to his *political Writings*, (which are collected into a little Volume) for a particular Account of the Importance of this Place to our *Trade*, *Navigation*, and even our *Security*, as a Nation, against the Designs of *France*; and shall only observe in general, that it annoyed our Merchants in so terrible a Manner, and did us such infinite Damage, during the last War, *(more than almost* all *the Ports of* France, *either in the Ocean, or the Mediterranean,)* that our *Ministers* could not entertain any Thoughts of a *Peace*, without a preliminary Article for the *Demolition* of *Dunkirk*; by which it is not only stipulated that the *Town* and *Port* of *Dunkirk shall be demolish'd*, but *that it never shall be an Harbour again.* The Article runs thus.

" The most christian King shall take Care that all " the Fortifications of the City of *Dunkirk* be razed; " that the Harbour be filled up; and that the Sluices, " or Moles, which serve to cleanse the Harbour, be " levelled; and That at the said King's own Expence, " within the Space of five Months after the Condi- " tions of Peace are concluded and sign'd; that is to " say, the Fortifications towards the Sea, within the " Space of two Months, and Those towards the Land, " together with the said Banks, within three Months; " on this express Condition also, that the said Forti- " cations, Harbour, Moles, or Sluices, be NEVER RE- " PAIRED AGAIN."

This Article is very *full*, *clear*, and *explicit* to the Purpose. It contains no *Ambiguities*, and leaves no Room for *Evasion*; tho' it must be confess'd that the *French*, according to Custom, endeavoured to elude it as soon as the *Peace* was signed. They demolished the Fortifications to the *Land-side*, in Pursuance to their Stipulation; but left the *Moles*, *Dykes*, and *Harbour* intire for several Months; and sent over the Sieur *Tugghe*, Deputy-Governor of the Town, with a Petition to the Queen, desiring Her to remit that Part of

of the Treaty; but He met with a Repulse from her Majesty, and was told by her * principal Secretary of State, (as Sir *RICHARD STEELE* informs us,) that She insisted on the *Demolition*. He then caused his *Petition* to be printed, and dispersed about Town, in order to work upon the Passions of the common People. It was upon this Occasion that Sir *Richard Steele* took up the Cause and proved, by irrefragable Arguments, that it was of little Consequence to *England*, whether the *Works to the Land* were demolish'd or not; that all the Prejudice, which we had received from *Dunkirk*, proceeded from the *Port* and *Harbour*; that his most christian Majesty had contracted to destroy *them* as well as the *other*; and that the *British Nation expected* an immediate Compliance with that Part of the Treaty.

It is true, that the Manner, in which Sir *Richard* urged this Affair, met with the Resentment of the *House of Commons*; but his Writings had, in some Measure, their intended Effect. The *French* were obliged to put the *Letter* of the Article in Execution; but had Recourse to another Artifice to evade the *Spirit* of it, by filling up the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and opening another at *Mardyke*, which answered the same Purpose. This engaged Sir *Richard Steele* to pursue his Subject, and shew the Fallacy of such Conduct in a Pamphlet, intitled the *French Faith represented in the present State of* DUNKIRK; in which the Reader will find some very just and pertinent Observations on the Treachery of *that Nation*, on several Occasions.

When his late Majesty came to the Crown, He remonstrated against the Works at *Mardyke*, as an Infraction of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and obliged the Court of *France* to discontinue that Project.

Having premis'd thus much, I come to the Point proposed in this Letter; which is to enquire whether *Dunkirk* continues in the State, that is stipulated by the Treaty

* *The Lord Viscount* Bolingbroke.

Treaty of *Utrecht*, or whether it is made a *Port* and *Harbour again*.

You gave us Notice, Mr. *D'Anvers*, almoſt two Years ago, that the *French* had then clear'd the Harbour ſo far, by letting in the *Land Waters*, as to admit Ships of conſiderable Burthen; which They pretended was done providentially by the *Tides*. Nay, the News-Papers informed us that the People of *Dunkirk* had even petitioned their Sovereign to *repair* it intirely; and that his Majeſty returned only for Anſwer, *that it was not* yet *a proper Time to think of that Affair*; which imply'd too ſtrongly that a *proper Time* would come; though the Faith and Honour of the *French* Nation are ſolemnly engaged, by the Article beforementioned, *that* Dunkirk *ſhall never be repaired, or made an* Harbour again.

You have ſince often repeated theſe Notices; and if what hath been confidently reported (and never yet contradicted) is true, the Gentlemen in the *Adminiſtration* have not been without ſome Apprehenſions of this Nature; for it is ſaid that Colonel *Armſtrong*, our firſt Engineer, was ſome time ago ſent over to *Dunkirk*, by *Authority* from hence, to inſpect the Condition of that Harbour; but not having obtained a Licence for that Purpoſe from the Court of *France*, the *Governor* would not permit Him to execute his Commiſſion, but cauſed Him to be taken up, and confined with a Guard upon Him.

What I would infer from hence is, that (if this Account is true) the Conduct of the *French* Governor, towards Colonel *Armſtrong*, ſeems to be a tacit Confeſſion that ſomething hath been done, contrary to the *Article of Demolition*; for if the Harbour continues in the ſame Condition, which was ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, no good Reaſon can be given for his refuſing any Perſon to view it; and if Colonel *Armſtrong* had found the Report of its being *repaired* to be abſolutely groundleſs, I doubt not that We

ſhould

ſhould have ſeen it publiſhed long ago, in order to remove that Jealouſy and Uneaſineſs, which the People of *England* have conceived upon this Occaſion.

This, I ſay, is of itſelf a very ſtrong Preſumption, that the *French* are conſcious of ſome Infraction of the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

There is another Thing, Mr. *D'Anvers*, which makes me ſuſpect that theſe repeated Accounts about *Dunkirk* have ſome Foundation; which is, that none of the numerous *Writers againſt you* (who lay hold of every little Opportunity to falſify your Aſſertions) have thought fit to contradict you in *this Point*. I am afraid they have examin'd their *Maſters* about it, and find it too true to be denied.

It is proper to obſerve, that the Ceſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, with the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, were the only great Advantages, which we acquired by all the Blood and Treaſure, that were conſumed in *two long Wars*. Our Title to *Gibraltar* hath been ſince call'd in Queſtion by the *Spaniards*, who have already put us to a very great Expence in maintaining it; and if the *French*, in Violation of Treaties, ſhould repair *Dunkirk*, I tremble to think of the Conſequences. Millions on Millions have, in ſuch a Caſe, been expended to no Purpoſe. Our *Trade* muſt become infinitely more precarious than it is already, and almoſt abſolutely dependent on the Pleaſure of *France*. Our Coaſts will be expoſed to continual Dangers, and our Ships will not be ſafe in our own Harbours.

What would make ſuch an Attempt ſtill more unjuſtifiable, is, that the *French* had an *Equivalent* given Them for *Dunkirk*, before it was demoliſh'd.

I do not aſſert that theſe Reports are true; but I think it a Matter, which deſerves immediate Enquiry, and heartily wiſh that they may prove falſe, both for our *own Safety*, and the Honour of our *Allies*.

In

In the mean time, give me Leave, Sir, to conclude in the Words of Sir *Richard Steele* upon this Subject.

" Alas! what ſignifies multiplying Words? Look " but upon this *Map*, and it is Demonſtration that " our *Trade* and our *Liberty* are, contrary to a ſolemn " Treaty, expoſed to the Power of *France*; and what " remains, but that we implore Heaven that the *Le-* " *giſlature* would lay aſide all Animoſities, and exert " Themſelves in Defence of their *deluded* and *inſulted* " *Country?*

A. *I am, SIR, &c.*

Cornhill, Nov. 7, 1729.

N° 177. SATURDAY, *November* 22, 1729.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU hath left behind Him ſeveral Marks of a *great Stateſman* in his *Writings*, as well as his *Actions*; and though I am far from juſtifying, or approving all his *political Maxims*; yet when I look upon Him as the Miniſter of an *abſolute Prince*, and conſider that his View was to make his Maſter as great as poſſible, according to *that Form of Government*; I cannot help thinking that He writes much more candidly, impartially and honeſtly, than our modern Advocates for Power in a *free Country*.

I have now before me the *Teſtament politique* of that *great Man*, which He wrote for the Inſtruction of his Maſter, *Lovis* XIII. and as a Guide to his Conduct in the Reformation of thoſe flagrant *Abuſes* and *Corruptions*, which had almoſt overwhelm'd the Government, both in *Church* and *State*. I deſign to entertain the Reader this Week with ſome *Extracts* out of

of that Book, and some *Observations* upon them, which I believe will not be thought altogether unseasonable.

There was, at that Time, in *France*, a certain Tax, called the *Paulette*, being an *annual Duty* paid to the King by all Persons, who enjoy'd any *Posts*, or *Employments* in the State. This was generally complain'd of by the People, as the Occasion of all their Misfortunes; the Source, from whence all the *Disorders* and *Abuses of Justice* were derived. They desired therefore that the *Venality of Offices* might be suppress'd, the *successive Inheritance* of them extinguish'd, and that They might be conferr'd *gratis* upon Men of *Abilities* and *Integrity*, whose *Merit* could not be called in Question by Envy itself.

As reasonable as these Complaints and Expectations appeared to be at first Sight, the *Cardinal* found it necessary to oppose them, and maintain the other Side of the Question; but he did it in a modest Way, by stating the Case fairly on both Sides, and explaining the Reasons, which preponderated in his Judgment.

He confess'd very frankly, that *Corruption* and *Abuse of Power* were come to such a Pitch, that it was impossible for them to go any farther. He likewise acknowledg'd that *Venality* and *Inheritance of Offices* was contrary to *Reason*, and all Rules of *Equity*; and that a Man must be blind, who did not heartily desire to have them suppress'd, if it could be supposed that *Merit* and *Virtue*, in such a Case, would be the only Recommendations and Titles to *Preferment*.

But then He took Notice, on the other Hand, that the Suppression of *this Traffick* would be inevitably attended with several *bad Consequences*, worse than the Disease itself; for as the Disposal of Offices would, in that Case, intirely depend on the Will and Pleasure of the *Prince*, it would follow that *Those*, who happened to be establish'd the most strongly in his Favour, would engross the Disposal of them to *Themselves*; since

since no Body can be ignorant *that the* Artifices of Courtiers *are more prevalent than* Reason; *and that* Favour *is stronger than* Merit.

He observ'd likewise, that as the Suppression of *Venality* might open a Door to *Virtue*, so it would certainly occasion *Factions* and *Intrigues*, and fill the Posts of Government with Men of low Extraction and mean Circumstances, whose Vanity would make them prefer the Splendor of a *Place at Court* (tho' Ruin attended it,) to an useful Vocation in *Trade*; and whose Necessities would tempt them to sacrifice the *Good of the Publick* to their *own Interest*.

Whereas, says He, the Continuance of this Practice will confine *Places* to Men of *Substance*, who are most likely to execute them worthily. Nay, He goes so far as to affirm, contrary to the general Opinion, that this *Venality* is a Benefit to the Publick; since the *Price*, which They pay for their Offices, is a *Pledge* for their *good Behavior*.

But what He insisted upon most was, that however mischievous and unjustifiable this *Practice* might be, it could not be abolish'd, at that Time, without the most imminent Danger to the *Government* itself; that the People had been long Strangers to such a rigid Course of *Virtue*; that *Venality* was grown an *Habit*, and become, in one Sense, an *useful Part of the Constitution*. In short, that Evils, which are establish'd by *publick Exigences*, and supported by *Reasons of State*, are to be reform'd only by *Time*; that it is necessary to reconcile the Minds of Men by Degrees to such a *Change*, and not run precipitately out of *one Extreme* nto *another*.

Having thus summ'd up the Arguments on both Sides, as stated by this *great Author*, I beg Leave to make a few short Observations upon them.

What a deplorable Condition must any State or Kingdom be in, when *Venality*, *Corruption*, and *Abuse of Justice* are grown to such an Height, as to admit of

no Remedy; and what Punishment does *that Minister* deserve, who either first introduces such a vile Expedient of Government, or improves the Practice of it into a *national Habit*, and incorporates it with the *Constitution* of his Country in such a Manner, as to make all Attempts of *Reformation* dangerous and impracticable?

Of what a terrible Nature that political Disease *Corruption* is, and how virulently it affects every Part of the *Body politick*, when grown *habitual*, and work'd into our Mass of Blood, may be judg'd from the Case of *France*, now before us; for if a great Prince, possess'd of *absolute Power*, and assisted with one of the *ablest Ministers* that ever liv'd, would have found it dangerous to apply a Remedy to this contagious Distemper, though at the Expence of his *own Revenue*; how stubborn and inveterate, how incapable almost of any Cure must it be, when it hath equally spread itself amongst a *free People*, who are Themselves one Part of the *legislative Power*, and are able to maintain themselves in the Possession of their *favourite Vices* and *Corruptions?*

From hence We may likewise see of what little Consequence the just Complaints of the People too often are; for though this *mercenary Traffick of Places* was generally condemn'd in *France* (as the *Cardinal* informs us) and no Man, perhaps, thought fit to hazard his Character so far as to justify it *openly*, yet it was so firmly establish'd in the Hearts of many by *vicious Custom* and *self-interested Views*, that it was thought necessary to continue it. Instances of the same Nature might be produced in *other Countries*.

But it must be confess'd that there is a great Difference between *Venality of Offices* and *Venality of Persons in Office*. A Man may *buy a Place*, with no other View than getting a reputable Livelihood in the World, and an honest Intention of doing his Duty. *Venality*, in this Case, may not be attended with *Corruption*;

ruption; especially, if He does not give an *exorbitant Price* for it, which is always a strong Temptation to reimburse Himself by *exorbitant Gains*. But when a Man hath once suffer'd Himself to be *corrupted in his Office*, his Case admits of no Apology, or Amendment. What They call *Touching*, upon these Occasions, is like a Man's dealing with the *Devil*. He sells Himself, for Life, to *Vassalage* and *Prostitution*. The *first Bribe*, though it be but a Shilling, is the *Earnest* of his vile Bargain, and ties Him down to the Performance of it, without any Possibility of receding.

The greatest Misfortune, that can befal any Kingdom, is when Those at the Helm are *corrupt Themselves*; because it obliges them to make *Corruption* a Fashion for their own Security. The Infection is easily communicated to all Degrees of Men, from the *premier Minister* down to the *lowest Officer*, or *Scullion of State*, who unite together in a compact Body, and defend each other by a mutual Confederacy in Wickedness.

It is very observable, that though Cardinal *Richlieu* found it necessary to defend *Venality of Offices* at the Juncture, when He wrote, He was far from justifying *Bribery* and *Corruption*, either in the *Legislature*, or *Courts of Justice*, and representing them, like some *modern Hirelings*, as *proper Expedients of Government*. No; He propos'd to redress the Grievances of the People, by reforming the Abuses, and Enormities of *Men in Authority*; for which Purpose He advised the King his Master to send *Commissioners* into all the Provinces, *to make Enquiry into the Conduct of the* Officers of Justice *and the* Revenues; *to see if the* Taxes *were raised according to the* Law; *whether the* Receivers *did not commit Injustice, by vexing the People*; *to discover the* Manner, *in which They exercis'd their Employments*; *to learn how the* Nobility *behaved Themselves*; *and to put a Stop to* Disorders *and* Irregularities *of all Kinds*; *especially to the Violences of* Those,

who, being rich *and* powerful, *oppreſs'd his Majeſty's* weak *and* indigent *Subjects.*

This was Advice worthy of a great, good, and honeſt Man. Alas! how few *Miniſters* deſerve this Character, by giving their Maſters ſuch Advice? They commonly endeavour to obſtruct all *Examinations* of this Nature, and ſcreen the *Offenders* from Juſtice; or, if the Cries of the People are ſometimes too loud and general to be withſtood, They give up two or three *little Rogues* and *Underſtrappers in Iniquity*, to pacify their Reſentments for the preſent, and divert them from more *exalted Criminals*; but They dare not ſuffer the Wounds of their Country to be laid open and ſearch'd to the Bottom, leſt They ſhould be found ſo dangerous as to require immediate Remedies and ſevere Operations.

A Man, who hath aggrandiz'd Himſelf, and engroſs'd the Power of a Nation into his Hands by *corrupt Methods*, can ſubſiſt only by *Corruption*. Take away *Corruption* and you take away his Support, the main Prop and Foundation of his Greatneſs; and the vaſt Superſtructure, which He hath rais'd at the Expence of the Honour, Welfare and Proſperity of his Country, muſt of Courſe fall to the Ground.

It cannot be expected therefore that a *Miniſter*, of this Sort, will ever adviſe, or conſent to any *Enquiries*, which He knows will ſo ſtrongly affect *Himſelf.*

I have the Pleaſure to conclude this Eſſay with obſerving, that nothing portends more Good to our Country, in its preſent Circumſtances, than the late glorious Act for *preventing Bribery and Corruption*, and the Zeal of the *honourable Committee, laſt Seſſion*, in enquiring into the *Abuſes of* one *Branch of our Law*; which I hope will be follow'd with the ſame Vigour and Aſſiduity in *ſucceeding Seſſions.* D.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

For the PUBLICK GOOD.

This is to give Notice that Meſſ. LYNN *and* COMPANY *Silk-Mercers, having had the Honour to ſerve moſt of the Quality with their* laſt Birth-day Suits, *intend to continue the ſame Buſineſs, at their* great Warehouſe *near* St. James's; *where Gentlemen and Ladies may be furniſhed, from Time to Time, with all Sorts of the richeſt and moſt faſhionable* French *and other* foreign *Silks, for ready Money, at reaſonable Rates; They having ſettled a Correſpondence* abroad *for that Purpoſe.*

N. B. *As the Deſign of* this Undertaking *is to relieve the Nobility and Gentry, of both Sexes, from the Impoſitions of* common Mercers, *and the vulgar Frippery of our* own Manufacture, *we doubt not that the* Beaumonde *will give it all ſuitable Encouragement.*

N° 178. SATURDAY, *November* 29, 1729.

Ut jugulent Hominem, *ſurgunt de nocte Latrones;*
Ut Teipſum *ſerves, non* EXPERGISCERIS? HOR.

HIS Majeſty having iſſued his Royal *Proclamation*, for ſummoning the Parliament for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs on *Tueſday* the 13th of *January* next, it cannot be improper to addreſs the Members, at this Time, in a pathetick Manner; exciting them to pay a ſtrict Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands; exhorting them to a diligent Attendance on

their Duty; and endeavouring to urge them, by all virtuous Motives, to be careful of the great Truſt, that is repoſed in them.

A *Member of Parliament* is, without all Doubt, a Man of as much Conſequence as any Subject in the Kingdom. He is placed in the higheſt Station, which his Country hath in its Diſpoſal, and inveſted with the greateſt Truſt the People can poſſibly beſtow upon Him. He has the Properties, the Liberties, nay, the very Lives of Thoſe, who choſe Him, in his Hands; and what is more, He is accountable to no Man for what He does. Thus inveſted with almoſt abſolute Power, how circumſpect, how cautious ſhould He be of acting in any Manner unworthy of this great Truſt; a Truſt, which is by much the more ſacred, becauſe *Thoſe*, who gave it, have diveſted themſelves of the Power of calling Him to Account, for any *Neglect*, or *Non-Performance* of his Duty in it?

Every *Member* therefore lies under an indiſpenſable Obligation of *attending* diligently in his Poſt. He muſt be ready, at all Times, to maintain the Rights, preſerve the Freedom, and advance the Intereſt of *Thoſe*, who choſe Him; of the *Houſe*, of which He is a Member; and of his *Country* in general; and poſtpone all Conſiderations whatever for the *publick Benefit*.

In this *great Council of the Nation*, every Man ſtands upon an *equal Foot*; and no Member is *more conſiderable*, or *greater* than another, but as He diſtinguiſhes Himſelf by his *Abilities*, or *Endeavours*, to ſerve his King and his Country. It is Matter of Aſtoniſhment to me, that, with all theſe Advantages and Opportunities of doing Good to Themſelves and their Country, every Member does not endeavour to exert himſelf to the utmoſt; and yet ſuch Diffidence there hath been in ſome, and ſo much Indolence in others, that few have endeavoured to put themſelves forward in the Cauſe of their Country; and many have entirely neglected it,

it, by abſenting themſelves ſometimes for a whole Seſſion together.

I have known ſome, in *former Parliaments*, (may it never be the Caſe again!) who, when once they were choſen Members, never thought of giving themſelves the Trouble of coming up to attend their Duty in the Houſe; and provided they had the Privilege of *franking Letters*, they were not under the leaſt Concern what became of the Publick.

With all ſuch as are thus *criminally indolent*, I would expoſtulate in the following Manner.

Do you, I would ask every Gentleman, ſeek being a Member of Parliament as an *Advantage*; or do you undertake it as an *honourable Burthen?* What it formerly was, when *Corruption* was unknown, is manifeſt from the *Wages*, which were always allow'd the Members.

Do you mean your own *perſonal Good*; or do you hope to become ſerviceable to the *Publick?* Every Man, who is not entirely abandon'd in his Principles, will readily anſwer me, that He ſcorns all *private Views*, and hath the Intereſt of his *Country* only at Heart. Why then do you not *attend* where your Duty calls you; where you may be of Service, and where the great Affairs of your Country are tranſacted? Conſider what important Matters may very probably be, this Seſſion, the Subject of your Deliberations.

Tho' the making of *Peace* is acknowledged to be within the *Prerogative* of the Crown, yet it will moſt certainly be brought before you for your Approbation; which *Miniſters* always eſteem to be ſome kind of Security to them. And yet we know the *preſent Miniſters* impeached a *former Adminiſtration* on Account of a *Peace*, which had been approv'd of, and ſanctified by *Parliament*; but This is only by the way.

As you judg'd it right to examine, laſt Year, into the Reaſons why the *Fleet of England* was ſuffer'd to

rot,

rot, and directed to remain *unactive* before the *Baſtimentos*; ſo now you will certainly expect ſome Reaſons for its having lain ſo long, in all Appearance *uſeleſs*, and at ſo vaſt an Expence, in our own Harbours. This at preſent puzzles all Mankind, and hath been the Occaſion of much Complaint *without Doors*; but we may reſt aſſured that a ſatisfactory Account will be given of it to the *Houſe*; and I make no Queſtion that our Conduct in this Particular will appear alſo to be *juſt*, *prudent* and *neceſſary*.

You will likewiſe very probably have under your Conſideration how to retrieve, and in what Manner to ſettle the *Commerce* of the Nation.

That it has been, for many Years, in a *declining* and *languiſhing* Condition every Body is ſenſible, and feels too ſeverely by the Effects. You may poſſibly again hear the *Merchants*, and be informed from them what they apprehend neceſſary to be done in a *legiſlative* Way, for putting our *Trade* upon a good and laſting Foundation. This, for aught I know, may be done by eaſing it from ſome of thoſe *heavy Duties* and *Burthens*, which oppreſs it the moſt grievouſly at preſent, and which are the Cauſes that *other People* can afford to under-ſell us, even in our *own Manufactures*. It may be likewiſe done, by giving due Encouragement to ſome *new Branches of Trade*, perceiving the Declenſion, and perhaps the Impoſſibility of ſupporting ſome of the *old Ones*.

But there is one Thing, I am ſure, above all neceſſary; and That is, the making ſome good and effectual Laws for reſtraining of *Luxury*; which, if not ſpeedily prevented, muſt infallibly ruin this Kingdom. It is now ſpread amongſt all Degrees of People. It is not only the *Man of Quality*, the *Gentleman*, and the *Merchant*, that is infected; but, from the Example of their Superiors, *Luxury* is now got even behind *Counters*, among *Shop-Keepers* and their *Apprentices*.

I am very apprehenſive, (if we could be truly inform'd) that this *prevailing Vice* has brought the *Ballance of Trade*, upon the whole, to be againſt us. What a miſerable Condition muſt we be then in, when *Trade*, which ſhould be our *Support*, becomes an Inſtrument of our *Deſtruction*? The *Ballance* of it, we all know, muſt be anſwer'd in *Bullion*. *Luxury* therefore, and the great Expences we are at *abroad*, drain us of our *Specie*; which would certainly be more ſenſibly felt, at preſent, than it is, was it not for that *fictitious Wealth* we have amongſt us of *Paper Credit*.

When Theſe are the Topicks, which you may probably enter upon; when Points of this Conſequence may perhaps come before you; can you have ſo little publick Spirit in you, as to heſitate one Moment whether you ſhall come up to Town this Winter, or not? You can have no juſt, or lawful Excuſe, but Want of *Health*. Your Affairs, and every one that belongs to you, are by the *Privilege* of the Houſe ſafely ſecured. How then can you look your Countrymen and Thoſe, who have choſen you, in the Face, when a *Point of Conſequence* may be loſt, perhaps, for Want of your *ſingle Vote*? Sure, if you do not attend your Duty in Parliament, you muſt hide yourſelf in ſome obſcure Corner. To ſhew yourſelf in *one Place*, when every one knows that your Duty calls you to *another*, is highly ſcandalous; and, if you live where you are *choſen*, you are daily inſulting your *Electors*, by ſhewing them how much you neglect and deſpiſe *their Service*.

If Affairs ſhould ever be conducted in Parliament in ſuch a Manner as to turn to the *Detriment of your Country*; have you not Reaſon to be aſhamed that you did not do whatever lay in your Power to prevent it? Should they be *well adminiſtred*, for the *Honour* and *Advantage of the Kingdom*; are you not ſenſibly griev'd that you, who ought to have been concern'd in it, can pretend to no ſhare of the Reputation of it?

Is

Is there any Thing more infamous, even in private Life, than to accept a Truſt, promiſing to be careful in it, and afterwards never to do any one ſingle Act in Execution of it? You are like an *Officer* ſoliciting for Preferment, and when any Danger appears, or his Country wants his Service, baſely quits his Colours, and deſerts from his Duty.

What ſhall I ſay to rouſe and animate you in your Country's Cauſe? How ſhall I warm you with a right Spirit and a becoming Zeal? If your own Safety, your own Property, your own Proſperity will not affect you; is the Welfare and Happineſs of Millions of no Moment to you? On you it may depend what *Land-Forces* ſhall be kept ſtanding within theſe Kingdoms another Year, and in *what Manner* They ſhall be reduced. On you it may depend whether the Charge of *twelve thouſand Heſſians, five thouſand Wolfenbuttle Troops*, beſides many Subſidies to *other Princes*, ſhall be ſtill continued upon the People. On you it may depend what *Security* we are to accept for the Poſſeſſion of thoſe *important Fortreſſes*, which have been formerly yielded to us. On you it may depend whether a *real* and *immediate Satisfaction* ſhall be obtain'd for the Loſſes of our *injur'd Merchants*; or whether *Time* and *Commiſſaries* ſhall be ſuffer'd to liquidate them away to nothing.

Theſe Points and many more, even of a yet *higher Nature*, may poſſibly come under your Deliberation. Can you then be framing mean and poor Excuſes againſt a *Call of the Houſe*, when it ſhall be order'd; and at the ſame Time be deaf to the Calls of Honour and of your Country? If you will not, through vile Indolence, having no better Reaſon, be active and diligent *your ſelf* in your Country's Cauſe; why do you not, if you have the ſole Intereſt in your Corporation, bring in ſome *other Perſon* of a leſs truant Diſpoſition, who might be deſirous and willing to exert himſelf with more Vigour? Conſider that you do a double Miſchief.

You,

You, who have the *Power* of doing Good, from Indolence, want the Inclination; and at the same Time Those, who might have the *Inclination*, are by you prevented from having the *Power* of doing it. The Body of the *Senate*, like the natural Body, is never perfect for Action, when deprived of any of its *Members*; and yet capable of acting, though it wants, perhaps, a *Finger*, an *Arm*, or *two* or *three Limbs*.

If a Man did but seriously consider what honest Comforts there are in assiduously attending his Duty in the *House*, He would want no *lucrative Incitements* to engage him to it. What a Satisfaction must it be to a virtuous Mind, to think that he hath it in his Power to do Good to ten thousands at one Time? What an exquisite Pleasure must it afford, to think of releasing from Misery, and the cruellest Confinement, Numbers of indigent and unfortunate Persons, by a general Act for the Relief of *insolvent Debtors*.

But let us turn the Tables, and put it in the worst Light. I will suppose that you are of a different Principle from the *Party*, that prevails in the House; and that you see no Probability, or Prospect, of carrying any Question agreeable to your Opinion. *This*, you say, discourages you from giving your *Attendance*; but will *This* absolve you from your Duty, and the Ties of Honour and Conscience? Will *This* release you from the Obligations you are under to *Those*, who chose you; or to *Those*, who are desirous of acting with you? May you not, by *diligent* and *constant Attendance*, have a Chance of now and then carrying a Point? May you not, by *Accident*, and the *Non-Attendance of others*, have an Opportunity of serving a Friend in a *just Cause*, or in an *Election*, if you can suppose that *Interest*, or *Faction*, might otherwise make Him suffer?

Let us suppose it possible that a *few Gentlemen*, zealously concern'd for the Preservation of the Constitution,

ſtitution, and the Welfare of their Country, ſhould labour with indefatigable Pains and Induſtry, through many tedious Days of a long Seſſion, without Effect and to no Purpoſe; every Thing being by the Force of *Party-Prejudice*, or ſome *ſtronger Influence*, carried againſt them. This, no Doubt, is extreamly diſheartning; but if, at Length, by their *unwearied Attendance*, and a *ſtrict Secrecy*, they ſhould be able to carry a *Bill to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs* for the future; what Tranſports muſt they feel? What Joy muſt fill their Hearts? Would not ſuch an *Incident* make them ample Amends for all their Fatigues? Would not *This* be a full Reward for all their Care and Pains?

I have, in *former Parliaments*, known ſome of the *rural Eſquires* the oddeſt and moſt unaccountable Creatures breathing. They will ſit *at home*, or in their country *Coffee-houſes*, railing at *Courtiers*; complaining of the Severity of *Taxes*; exclaiming againſt the Oppreſſion of ſo large an *Army*, and giving away *Money without Account*; in ſhort, upbraiding the *Government*, and the *general Adminiſtration of publick Affairs* in all its Parts; and yet would they not ſtir one Step, nor ſay *one Syllable* (nothing but a *Monoſyllable* being expected from them) to remedy any of the Miſchiefs they ſo loudly complain'd of; nor will they give their *Attendance*, to help and aſſiſt *others* that would attempt it.

This brings to my Mind a Story I have formerly heard of *two Highwaymen*, who attacked a Stage-Coach; in which there was an *Officer*, *two Juſtices of the Peace*, and a *Clergyman*. When the Rogues came up to the Coach, the *Officer* leap'd out, and put himſelf upon his Defence; the reſt of the Company ſat ſtill; and whilſt the *Officer* was bravely defending himſelf, they were the whole Time ſcolding bitterly and calling all Sorts of Names. They cry'd 'twas a Shame ſuch luſty Fellows, who might get an honeſt Livelihood by Work, ſhould turn *Highwaymen*, and plunder his Majeſty's

jesty's Liege Subjects. If they had Courage, why did they not go into the *Army*, and serve where their Courage might be of Use? In short, the *Justices* told them they would come to be *hang'd*; and the *Parson* assur'd them they would certainly be *damned*. The *Officer*, having fired both his Pistols, was at Length overpowered; upon which he reproach'd his *Fellow-Travellers* for their Cowardice; telling them, if they had assisted him whilst he was fighting, instead of sitting still, and like old Women calling Names only, they might have perhaps taken the Rogues; or at least have prevented the Robbery. The Moral of This is, if Gentlemen would constantly attend their Duty, and be a little active, many Things might be prevented, which it is in vain to sit still and grumble at only.

I will suppose the *Absenters* should not be sufficient in Number to make up a *Majority*. However, might it not bring *Divisions* to be something nearer? If there was the least Tendency, in some few Points, to an *Equality* only of Numbers; would it not make a *Ministry* more careful what they undertook, or attempted? Would it not prevent them from hazarding many a *Jobb*, which these *Absenters* encourage them to undertake? We have heard of *Minorities*, that have fought themselves up to be a *Majority*; and we all know that when the Numbers are pretty near a *Par*, the *Ministry* (especially if they are much *disliked*) lose Ground daily, and are in Danger of being soon defeated and overturn'd. You therefore, by *absenting* your self, do what in you lies to establish and secure that very *Ministry* you are continually railing against. It is not their *false Friends, who vote constantly with them, though they wish them hang'd*, that are their Support; but it is their *indolent Enemies*, who are *absent* when they should *vote against them*.

There are another Set of People, whom I have known also in *former Parliaments*; who would fain be thought *Country Gentlemen*; and yet were never

preſent at any great Queſtion in their Lives. Theſe are your *ſham-Patriots*; who have not Reſolution enough to *oppoſe* a Thing, becauſe 'tis *wrong*; nor Honeſty enough to be *for it*, becauſe 'tis *right*; and therefore, in all *great Points*, keep out of the way. They would willingly, if they could, be thought honeſt Fellows on both Sides. They always talk againſt every *unpopular Thing*, when it is *over*; but never *vote againſt it*, when it is *depending*; and by theſe Means they hope to maintain their Characters in the *Country*, without offending the *Miniſters in Town*. 'Tis poſſible they may ſecretly get a Squeeze by the Hand, as they ſtand *behind the Chair*; or now and then have Intereſt enough to recommend a *Tide-Waiter*, or an *Exciſe-Man*. But let me tell theſe *pitiful Sneakers*, theſe *half-pac'd lukewarm Politicians*, that they are known and deſpiſed on all Sides; often juſtly ſuſpected of *Corruption*; and at beſt are but *inglorious Neuters*.

Now the Act is paſſed for *preventing* CORRUPTION *in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament*, no Man can expect to be choſen, who is not *popular in his Country*, or who does not take Care to recommend Himſelf by *good* and *virtuous Actions*. That the People may be informed of *This*, and be able to judge of the Conduct of *theſe Members*, who knows but that, upon all great Occaſions, *Liſts* may be made, ſhewing how every individual Member *voted* in the Queſtion, and who were the *Abſenters? They*, whoſe Names ſhall be found in this *laſt Liſt*, will, I am perſuaded, be laid aſide with *Contempt* and *Ignominy*, to whatever Place they may pretend to offer their Services again.

Such *Members*, as never appear in the Houſe but upon a *Call*, are like *Soldiers*, who are liſted only to make their Appearance upon a *Muſter*; and may properly enough be diſtinguiſh'd by the military Cant Name of a FAGGOT. If theſe *Faggots of the Houſe* are to be

ſhamed

ſhamed into a Senſe of their Duty, by having a Name of Reproach fixed npon them, it will be well; but if not, I hope in all *enſuing Elections*, every County, Corporation and Borough in *England* will conſider whether it can poſſibly be either for their *Intereſt*, or their *Honour*, to be repreſented by a FAGGOT.

C.

N° 179. SATURDAY, *December* 6, 1729.

THERE is no great Quality, for which *ſome Gentlemen* have been more celebrated by their *Advocates and Encomiaſts in ordinary*, than That of *Lenity* and *Forbearance* towards Thoſe, who are call'd *Libellers*; in whoſe Number I have long had the Honour to be rank'd, for endeavouring to do my King and my Country all the Service, that lay in my Power. This Topick hath conſtantly made a Part of their Panegyricks. We have been told, over and over again, that no *Men in Power* were ever ſo *indulgent* and even *paſſive under repeated Inſults and Provocations*, as our *preſent*, *excellent Miniſters*; that They have ſuffer'd a *Paper* to paſs with *Impunity*, which They could eaſily cruſh at Pleaſure; but They were ſo very tender of excerciſing their Power, that They choſe to ſuffer the *groſſeſt Obloquy* and *Slander*, rather than take any *Meaſures*, which might prejudice the Cauſe of *LIBERTY* in general. One of theſe *Writers* was pleaſed, t'other Day, to *demand our Juſtice in Behalf of that* honourable Perſon, *who, with the moſt temperate Fortitude, ſuſtain'd the Shocks and defy'd the Power of charging Hoſts of daring Enemies*;

who suffer'd his own Fame *to lie open to their Malice, and his* Person *to their Insults, rather than He would hurt our* Liberties.

Nay, some of them have gone so far as to reproach and even arraign *these Gentlemen* of Breach of Duty for not demolishing us at once, without any *Forms of Law, or Justice*; for That is the only rational Construction I can put upon their Words.

I formerly took some Notice of this *false, satyrical Eulogium*, in my Letter to Colonel PLATTOON, and thought myself bound in Justice to vindicate our *Ministers* from this insolent Charge of *Passiveness*, (towards US at least) by observing that They had taken all *legal Methods* to *punish* and *suppress* us; that *These* were the *only Methods*, which our Constitution, at present, would allow them to take; and I might have added, that it is not in the Power even of the *King himself* (as, I am sure, it is not in his Inclination) to suppress the *Liberty of Writing*, or to punish any Author, but by the *ordinary Forms of Law*.

I thought such a general Vindication of the *Ministry* sufficient at that Time; but the frequent Repetition of *this Charge* obliges me to be somewhat more particular; though I am far from designing to deny their *Lenity*, and should be very unwilling to rob any *Gentleman* of the Satisfaction, which he may possibly receive from *such Applauses*. I must however call upon the World to judge whether *Warrants for seizing Persons and Papers, without Distinction*, and even *breaking Locks*, in Case of refusal to open them; whether *strict Examinations, Commitments* and *Confinement*, without Liberty of *writing*, or *speaking* to any Friends in private; whether putting us to the Trouble of running about Town for *Bail*, upon every taking up, and continuing us, upon *divers Recognizances* (to a *very great Sum*) for almost *three Years* together; whether the Expence of *several Tryals*, and of *preparing* for several others, which is near the same; not to say any Thing

Thing of intimidating *Booksellers*, *Printers* and *Publishers*, by these Means, and endeavouring to stop the Propagation of our Papers, by a particular Prohibition at the *Post-Office*; I say, the World must judge whether *such Methods of Proceeding* are properly Marks of a *passive* Disposition, or can be justly made an Handle of Complaint against *Ministers*, who are known to have us'd *all these Methods*.

I do not mention these Facts as *Hardships*, or Instances of *Severity*; but only to justify *some Gentlemen* from an Aspersion, which hath been cast upon them. From the Court in *Westminster-Hall* we have hitherto experienced great *Candour*; and we do not accuse any *other Court* of Rigour. It is the Part of Women and Children only to whine and complain of *Grievances*, either *real* or *suppos'd*. It becomes a Man either to remove the *Occasion of Offence*, if He thinks it *just*; or to suffer with Courage and Magnanimity in what his Conscience tells him is an *honest Cause*.

For my own Part, as I know my *Design* in this Undertaking to have been upright, so, upon a Review of what I have written, I cannot be induced to alter my Opinion. I will not indeed pretend to justify every Expression, which hath been unwarily transcribed from *other Papers*; or which through an Hurry of Writing hath dropt from my Pen, or the Provocation of Adversaries may have drawn from it. This is more perhaps than *any Writer* was ever able to do, for so long a Time together. But I think that, in general, I have deserv'd well of my Country for my Endeavours to serve it; and, I hope, not always without Effect. The Support of *Trade*, in Opposition to *exclusive Companies* and *Monopolies*; the maintaining the Honour of our Country and the Cause of our *injured Merchants* from the *Insults* and *Depredations* of our Enemies; the Preservation of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* from any *future Claims*, *Pretensions*, or *Chicanes* of the *Spaniards* or *others*; the *Freedom of Parliament*

and of the *Members of Parliament* from *unwarrantable Artifices* and *Influence*; the Miſchiefs of *Stockjobbing*, *Corruption* and other Arts of *bad Miniſters*, as well as the Follies of *weak*, and *ignorant Ones*; the Reparation of *Dunkirk*, contrary to a ſolemn Treaty; the Vindication of the *Britiſh Flag*, as an antient, undoubted Right of this Kingdom; the Aſſertion of *Revolution Principles* upon all Occaſions, and of the *preſent Eſtabliſhment* in his Majeſty's moſt illuſtrious Houſe, founded on *thoſe Principles*; Theſe, I ſay, are the *general Topicks*, which we have diſcuſs'd in the Courſe of theſe Papers, and what we think ourſelves able to juſtify before God and the whole World.

But our Misfortune is, that *ſome Gentlemen* are of another Opinion; and, having conſtrued our Writings in a *bad Senſe*, think it incumbent upon them to proſecute us for them. They are therefore ſo far from being *paſſive* (as theſe *flattering Defamers* alledge) that they have done what they may think *their Duty* to the utmoſt, as We have done what we thought *ours*. The *publick Good* is equally pretended on *both Sides*; and may, perhaps, equally be the Motive to our Proceedings. The Cauſe is ſtill depending between us; and we muſt ſubmit to the Iſſue of it. We appeal not to the Paſſions either of our *Friends*, or our *Enemies*; but put our whole Confidence in the Judgment of our *Fellow Countrymen* and the *Laws of our Country*.

In the mean Time, as moſt *Proſecutions* of this Nature are ſupported by what the *Lawyers* call an *Innuendo*, I muſt beg Leave to trouble the Reader with ſome Thoughts on *that Subject*.

Theſe *Innuendos* (as they are call'd) have been often made uſe of, in *Crown Proſecutions*, to fix a *criminal Meaning* upon Words and Expreſſions, which are either *dubious*, or naturally import an *innocent Meaning*. Thus if an Author thinks proper, for general Inſtruction, to draw the Character of *Sejanus*, *Wolſey*, or any other *wicked Miniſter* of Antiquity, He runs the hazard

zard of having it call'd a *Parallel* and apply'd, by an *Innuendo*, to ſome *particular Miniſter* of the preſent Age. His Caſe is much the ſame if he deals in *Allegory*, *Fable* or *Irony*, which are ſubject to the ſame Kind of Interpretation; and even *Panegyrick* itſelf may be conſtrued, by this Method, into *Scandal*, and involve Him in the Penalties of a *ſeditious Libeller*.

This is, in Effect, to ſet up a Court of Inquiſition over a Man's *Thoughts*, and to puniſh Him for *criminal Intentions*, which perhaps never enter'd into his Heart; for if his Words, in their firſt and moſt obvious Signification, bear an *inoffenſive Meaning*, how can any conſcientious Man take upon Him to ſay that he had any *other Meaning*; or reſort to a *leſs natural Conſtruction*, in order to find Him *guilty*? Nay, if the Words will *equally* bear an *innocent* and a *criminal* Meaning, the moſt *favourable* is always the moſt *juſt*; eſpecially in a Court of Judicature.

It is true, indeed, that artful, ill-diſpoſed Writers do often make uſe of ambiguous Expreſſions for *bad Ends*, and to ſcreen themſelves from Puniſhment; but it is likewiſe true that *ſuch Expreſſions* are ſometimes neceſſary to ſerve *good Purpoſes*, and are very often uſed *inadvertently*, and with *no Deſign*; ſo that if theſe *forced Innuendos* are allow'd, a *well-deſigning*, or *injudicious Writer* may ſuffer Puniſhment without deſerving it, contrary to Equity and natural Juſtice.

But as I may be thought to have too much Concern myſelf in *this Subject*, I chuſe to finiſh it with ſome Quotations from other Writers, of much greater Authority than any Words of my own.

One of the excellent Authors of CATO's *Letters* obſerves very juſtly, that "there are ſo many *Equi-*
"*voques* in Language, ſo many *Sneers* in Expreſſion,
"which naturally carry *one Meaning*, but yet may in-
"tend *another*, that it is impoſſible by any fix'd and
"ſtated Rules to determine the *Intention*, and puniſh
"all, who deſerve to be puniſhed. But to get rid of

" this *Inconvenience*, at the Expence of giving any " Man, or Number of Men, a *diſcretionary Power to* " *judge another's* Intentions *to be criminal, when his* " Words *do not plainly denote Him to be ſo*, is ſub- " verting all *Liberty*, and ſubjecting every Man to the " Caprices, and arbitrary, wild Will of *Thoſe in Power*. " A *Text of Scripture* cannot be quoted, without be- " ing ſaid to reflect on *Thoſe*, who break it; nor the " *ten Commandments* read, without abuſing all *Princes* " and *great Men*, who often act againſt them all.

" Therefore, I muſt beg Leave to think that it is a " ſtrange Aſſertion, which, as I have heard, hath " been advanced by Lawyers in *Weſtminſter-Hall, viz.* " that it is an Abſurdity to affirm, that a *Judge* and " *Jury* are the *only Perſons* in *England*, who are *not* " *to underſtand an Author's Meaning*; which, I think, " may be true in many Inſtances, when they act " JUDICIALLY, and the *Words* He uſes, candidly con- " ſtrued, do not import *that Meaning*."

That inimitable Writer, the DRAPIER of *Dublin*, informs us, that " Sir *William Scroggs* was the firſt, " who introduced that *commendable Acuteneſs into* " *the Courts of Judicature*. When Pamphlets, *un-* " *pleaſing to the Miniſtry*, were preſented as *Libels*, He " would order the offenſive Paragraphs to be read " before Him, and ſaid it was ſtrange that the *Judges* " and *Lawyers* of the *King's-Bench* ſhould be duller " than all the People of *England*; and He was often " ſo very happy in applying the *initial Letters of* " *Names*, and expounding *dubious Hints* (the two " common Expedients of Writers of that Claſs for " eſcaping the Law) that He diſcovered *much more* " than ever the Authors *intended*, as many of them, " or their Printers, found to their Coſt——How far " this Practice hath been imitated by his Succeſ- " ſors, or ſtrained upon Occaſion, is out of my Know- " ledge."

The

The last Authority I shall mention, is That of the late Sir *Richard Steele*, who speaks as follows, upon the same Subject, in his own Justification. " Upon " the whole Matter, I do humbly conceive that no " *Words*, which I have made use of, can be censured " as *criminal*, in the candid and natural Interpretation " of them, and can only be construed as such by " *distant Implications* and *far-fetch'd Innuendos*. I " shall therefore beg Leave to produce the Authority " of a very *great Man*, with Reference *to Accusations* " *of this Nature*; since it is impossible for me to ex- " press my self with so much Judgment and Learn- " ing upon this Subject, as I find it already done to " my Hand. The Passages I now mention are in " the Speech of the now *Lord Chancellor of Eng-* " *land*, (the Lord HARCOURT) as I find them in Dr. " *Sacheverell's Tryal*, in the following Words.

" My Lords, *if there be a* double Sense, *in either* " *of which the Words are equally capable of being un-* " *derstood*; *if in* one Sense *the* Doctor's *Assertion be* " *undeniably* clear; *but in the* other *some* Doubt *might* " *arise, whether his Words be* criminal *or not*; *the Law* " *of* England *is more merciful than to make any Man* " *a* Criminal, *by construing his Words, against the* " natural Import *of them, in the* worst Sense. *This is* " *the great Justice and Clemency of our Law in* every " Man's Case.

And a little lower.

" My Lords, *if the Manner of this solemn Prosecu-* " *tion has not alter'd the Nature of Things, I hope I* " *may insist, (without putting in a Claim of Right, in* " *Behalf of all the factious and seditious People in the* " *Kingdom, to revile the Government at Pleasure,) that* " *by the happy Constitution, under which we live, a* " *Subject of* England, *is not to be made* criminal *by a* " labour'd Construction of doubtful Words; *or, when* " *that cannot serve, by departing from his* Words, *and* " *resorting to his* Meaning. *Too many Instances there*

" *were*

" *were of this Nature,* before the late happy Revolu-
" tion; *but That put an End to* such arbitrary Con-
" structions."

I can add nothing to these great Authorities, but my Wishes, that all *English Juries* will, notwithstanding any Suggestions to the contrary, have a due Regard to them, and not suffer themselves to be made the Instruments of punishing any Fellow-Subject for *dark, doubtful* and *equivocal* Expressions, which can be construed in an *innocent Sense*; especially if the *Person accus'd* appears to be an *honest Man*; well affected to the *Constitution*; and one, who hath made it his Endeavour to *serve his Country*; for it is certainly as unjust to *wrest a Man's Words,* as to *torture his Body,* into a Confession of *Guilt.* *D.*

N.B. *Since the foregoing went to the Press, Mr.* Francklin *hath been brought upon his Tryal, and honourably acquitted by his Countrymen, the* JURY.

N° 180. SATURDAY, *December* 13, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

Mr. D'ANVERS,

I Have been often surpriz'd to find the Admirers and Dependants of *certain great Men* declaim so furiously, both in their Writings and private Conversation, against your Paper. If their *Patrons* and *Themselves* too did not pretend to favour the Interests of *Liberty*; if they did not assume and endeavour to monopolize

nopolize to themſelves the Name of *Whigs*, there would be nothing aſtoniſhing in ſuch Conduct. The Tools of a *Tory* Adminiſtration, of a *High-Church* Party, have been often branded for their Doctrine of *paſſive Obedience*, and for preaching up an unlimited Loyalty to *Miniſters*, as well as *Princes*; tho' all Men of Senſe, even of *that Party*, diſclaim any ſuch Principles. But for Gentlemen, who affect the Reputation of having a Regard for the *Rights* of their Fellow-Subjects, and give out that they are of *Revolution Principles*, to condemn an Author, with ſo much Zeal, purely becauſe he differs in Opinion from the Perſons in *publick Truſt*; becauſe he takes the honeſt Liberty to cenſure ſuch of their Actions as He judges to be againſt the Intereſt and Honour of his Country, is a bare-fac'd Contradiction, and a notorious Inſult upon the common Senſe of Mankind. As *Men in Power* never fail to find a Set of abandon'd Slaves, who are always ready to extol the vileſt of their Proceedings; ſo it always has, and always will be the Practice of the *honeſt*, *free* and *independent* Part of the Nation, to keep a ſtrict Eye over *Miniſters*, and narrowly to obſerve all the Motions of Thoſe, who, under the *King*, are intruſted with the *executive Power*. *Authority* is a bewitching, enchanting Thing; and is apt to make Thoſe, who are poſſeſſed of it, giddy and wanton. It makes ſtrange Diſcoveries of Perſons, and Alterations too, though ſeldom for the better. Men, who have acted a fine Part in private Life, and eſtabliſh'd a Character of *Juſtice* and *Uprightneſs*, have, when advanced to the chief Stations, frequently ſhewn themſelves to be the very Reverſe of what they were once eſteem'd; and as the Fate of Millions depends upon their Conduct, nothing is more laudable than to expoſe them, when they do amiſs.

A *good* and *honeſt Miniſter* will never be diſpleas'd with this neceſſary Freedom; becauſe, conſcious of his own Integrity, he knows the Event of the Scrutiny

tiny muſt be favourable to him; and that, though his *Merit* may be eclipſed for a little time, it cannot be quite and for ever obſcur'd. For the ſame Reaſon, a *wicked* and *corrupt Miniſter* will be perpetually uneaſy, and wincing upon the ſlighteſt Hint at his *Blunders* and *Iniquities*. But what is it in your Lucubrations, that incenſes and alarms *theſe Gentlemen* ſo much? I have read moſt of your Papers, and can find nothing but Diſcourſes againſt *Bribery* and *Corruption*; ſome Repreſentations of *confeſſed Frauds* in the Management of the publick Companies; Complaints of *encreaſing Luxury* and *decreaſing Trade*; Pity and Compaſſion to our *Merchants* and *Sailors*, who have been plunder'd and murder'd in ſuch great Numbers in the *Weſt-Indies*; a generous Concern for the *Inſults* and *Diſgraces* we have prudently thought fit to ſuffer for ſome Time paſt, and a Jealouſy of the *growing Power* of *France*. Theſe, I think, are the moſt common Topicks of your *Paper*; and does not the whole Nation, except a few, perhaps, who find their Account in them, talk loudly on the *ſame Subject*? Surely you are the firſt Man, who ever was reckoned an *Enemy to his Country*, or abus'd by *Whigs*, for writing in this Manner. I ſuppoſe, Sir, you are convinc'd, by this Time, that I am really what theſe Gentlemen only pretend to be; that is, I am for being govern'd by the *ſame Principles*; for keeping up the *ſame Practices* in all Reigns, and under every Adminiſtration and not for being carried away by *Sounds* and *Names* when the *Things* that were originally meant by them are dropp'd in ſo open and undiſguis'd a Manner.

But though I am thus ready to do you Juſtice, upon every Occaſion, you are not to expect, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I am to pin my Faith on your Sleeve, or implicitly believe whatever you ſhall advance in *Politicks*. As I have declar'd againſt going blindfold into all the Views and Deſigns of Men in *publick Poſts*, ſo

leſ

leſs can I ever reſign my Underſtanding to the Dictates of any *private Perſon*; for as an immoderate Deſire of *Gain*, *Ambition*, and a Luſt of *Power* may, in many Caſes, ſeduce the *former*; ſo the *latter* may be often miſled by *Reſentment*, *perſonal Quarrels*, or *Diſappointments*; and though an Oppoſition to a *wicked Adminiſtration* may do a great Deal of *Good*; yet this Oppoſition may ſometimes proceed from *Motives* no Ways laudable. It is no Wonder that your Adverſaries have endeavour'd, with great Vehemence and all the little Addreſs they are Maſters of, to fix this odious Charge upon you. It is an Accuſation, which requires no deep Reach of Thought; a *Common-place Reproach*, which has in all Ages been applied to *brave Men*, who have generouſly refus'd a blind Submiſſion to the Meaſures of their Superiors, when deſtructive to the Community; and ſince it has not as yet been in the Power of any of theſe Gentlemen, by the leaſt Shadow of Proof, to demonſtrate that This is the Caſe with you, no Doubt you deſpiſe all ſuch invidious Reflections. But I am of Opinion that you have, at this Time, an Opportunity of convincing the whole Nation, that your *weekly Labours*, for ſeveral Years paſt, have been entirely calculated for the *publick Good*, and not in the leaſt owing to any *private*, *ſelfiſh Views*. The *Treaty* lately ſign'd at *Seville* does, I think, afford you this happy Occaſion. As the Articles of this *Treaty* are ſtill ſtept ſecret, it confirm'd my good Opinion of your Impartiality, that you have hitherto ſaid nothing on that Head; and have not attempted, as your Enemies induſtriouſly gave out, to decry it right or wrong; nor blindly applauded it, without knowing any Thing of the Conditions, like the wiſe Managers of a *certain great Company*.

I hope to ſee the ſame juſt and equitable Spirit run through your *future Papers*, when the *Articles* are publiſh'd. After the repeated Aſſurances we have re-

ceived from ſome great Men, of *known Veracity*, we can have no Reaſon to doubt that it is a *glorious* and *happy* PEACE; and I hope you, in particular, Mr. *D'Anvers*, will leave nothing undone, by which you may teſtify the Sincerity of your Joy upon the Nation's obtaining *ſo valuable a Bleſſing*, for which we have been labouring ſo long. Nay, I think in common Juſtice you ought to go a Step farther; and as you have formerly found Fault, you ought now to celebrate and commend the Abilities of thoſe *great Men*, who have had the Management of this important Affair; and who by their Skill and Addreſs have brought it to ſo happy an Iſſue. I know it is a common Objection of the *Malecontents*, that all our late *Difficulties* have been owing to the Meaſures of *theſe Gentlemen*; but not to enter into any Diſpute on this Subject, I think we ought to rejoice and applaud their Conduct, if by *this Peace* We have actually got rid of *thoſe Difficulties* with Honour, by whomſoever occaſion'd; if our *Poſſeſſions* abroad are confirm'd to us in ſo clear and explicit a Manner, as to prevent all Quibbles and Diſputes for the future; if by it we have found out a quick and expeditious Method of repairing the unparallel'd Loſſes of our *Merchants* in *America*, eſpecially for theſe *five laſt Years*, and of recovering the *Ships* and *Cargoes* taken by the *Spaniards* in *Europe*, while our *Fleet* was in the *Mediterranean*, before and during the Siege of *Gibraltar*; for I don't remember any taken ſince in *Europe*; if our *Trade* will be put on a more advantageous Footing than ever it was before; if it will ſet us in a Capacity to diſcharge the *Heſſian* and *other foreign Troops* in our Pay, and to reduce our *Expences* in ſuch a Manner, as to take off ſome Part of the *Land-Tax*, without making any *other Proviſions* neceſſary, which in reality may amount to the ſame Thing; in ſhort, to uſe the elegant Phraſe of a * certain Advocate for the *Miniſtry*: " il

* Vide *the* London Journal, November 29.

" if it appears that there has been an extraordinary " Juncture of Affairs in *Europe*, and many *Wheels of* " *State* to conduct, and they are happily conducted " without breaking any of them; and by that sort of " Judgment too, which dwells only in *great Minds*, " who are able to judge between *Things extraordi-* " *nary* and *Things impossible*. To bring all the Powers " of *Europe* so unhappily disjointed, to acquiesce in " one *general Rule for preserving the Peace*; and to " do This without striking a Blow was, you must " own, thought impossible; but to such *wise Men*, " who can subject their Passions to the Reason of " Things, nothing is so; and if it is now done, cer- " tainly *our Happiness* is *their Glory*."

If Things are in so fine a Situation, I dare promise for you, that the same Reasons, which induc'd you formerly to *blame*, will now engage you to raise *Monuments of Honour* to Gentlemen, who have so industriously laboured for the *publick Welfare*; who, by an admirable Foresight, have so *patiently submitted* to the Caprices of our Enemies for *these three last Years*, on purpose to bring Affairs to this *happy Period*; and have, by surprizing Dexterity, brought so much *Good* out of *numberless Calamities*.

If I have formed a right Notion of you from your *Writings*, I am positive you will be ready to confess your self in the Wrong, and proud of retracting whatever you have said against such *illustrious Patriots*, whose *superior Qualities* and *masterly Politicks* have thus wonderfully retrieved the *Interests* and *Reputation* of their *Country*. By such a Behaviour as This, you will compel the most clamorous of your ANTAGONISTS to acknowledge that tho' you was *mistaken*, you *meant well*; that your *Fears* and *Jealousies* proceeded from an *honest Principle*; and that you never was an Enemy to the *Gentlemen in Power*, any farther than as they might appear to you to be Enemies of their *Country*.

But if, contrary to the Wishes and Expectations of all *good Englishmen*, this so-long-look'd-for PEACE leaves our *foreign Acquisitions* in as uncertain and precarious a Condition as ever; if our *Merchants*, who have been plundered in *America* for these several Years past, shall have only Reparation for the Damages, which have been done for a *few preceding Months*; and if even these *Demands* may be frustrated by a Pretence of *illicite Trade*, such as having one single *Piece of Eight* on Board when taken, which can scarce fail to happen; if we are to have no Amends made us for the Depredations on our Shipping in *Europe*, but from the Time that these *Depredations ceas'd*, and all preceding ones are dropt by the fallacious Way of expressing the *Article*, relating to it; if the Losses of the *SPANIARDS* are to be reckoned from the Year 1718, and ours only from 1727, though they are known to commence from the Year 1713; if, instead of making all the Powers of *Europe* acquiesce in *one general Rule of Peace*, we run the Risque of entring into a *War* with the *Principal* of them, for a Quarrel we have nothing to do with; if we make *Peace* this Year on *Terms*, that by the unanimous Voice of our *Ministry* were declared *pernicious* last Year, before the formidable Fleet at *Spithead* was fitted out; and in order to be but barely replaced in the same Circumstances our *present Ministers* found us in, we must be Parties in all the Squabbles of *Italy*; find out and conquer Kingdoms for all her *catholick Majesty's* Children; and, over and above, sit down quietly with all our *Losses* and *Disgraces*.——I say, if This be the Case (which God forbid!) all the World will expect that you should do your *Prince* and *Country* the Justice to lay open the *Artifices* and *Disguises*, by which *our Enemies* may endeavour to excuse such a Treatment. What a poor Notion, what a contemptible Idea must all the World entertain of a Nation, who after so many *flagrant Injuries*, such *sensible Outrages* con-

continued for Years, can find at last no other Means left to prevent such *rude Assaults*, but an humble Offer to do all the *expensive Jobbs*, to perform all the *Drudgery Work* for that Kingdom, which has handled them so roughly, provided they will graciously permit them to live in *Peace* and *Quiet* as formerly? But it is to be hoped that all these *Terrors* are imaginary; and that we have got much better Terms than such as are contained in those *Articles*, which our *News-Writers* have presumed to impose upon the *Publick*; and by which they insolently endeavour to persuade us that, after *three Years tedious Negotiations*, our *wise* and *excellent Ministers* could not hammer out a *better Treaty* than That of *Utrecht*, which raised their Indignation so much at the latter End of Queen *ANNE*'s Reign. For my Part, I am more apt to believe that we are now arrived at that fortunate Period, when (to use the Words of another *ministerial Advocate* *) "*deluded Nations* once more understand "their long-neglected Interests; when the *Briton* and "the *Spaniard* have again embrac'd in Leagues of "*useful Friendship*; when the *Ocean* smiles with *Safety*; "when the *Merchant* finds a sure Return of *Treasure*; "when *Peace* is purchased without the *Expence of* "*Blood*; when the Gates of *Janus* are shut, and the "Ports of *Commerce* open;" and that this *Treaty* is the most *effectual* in its *Nature*, the most *extensive* in its *Scope*, the most *advantageous* in its *Terms*, a most *distinguish'd Blessing* to these Kingdoms, and no ways liable to any *just Exceptions*.

I shall close my *Epistle* with this *sublime Description*; and in the Faith of finding it as *true*, as it is *elegant*,

I remain Yours,

R. IMPARTIAL WHIG.

* British Journal, November 22.

N° 181. SATURDAY, *December* 20, 1729.

We ſhall oblige our Readers, this Week, with a little Miſcellany of Letters from our Correſpodents upon ſeveral Occaſions, which we hope will prove agreeable and entertaining.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq*;

SIR,

I Am a Country Gentleman. My Eſtate is conſiderable. Our Family has, for ſome Ages, made a Figure in the Country where I live; and almoſt all my Anceſtors have, from Time to Time, been Juſtices of the *Quorum*, as we call it. We have been reckoned Men of plain and uſeful Underſtandings; and accordingly we have frequently made up the *Differences* among our Neighbours, as often as we were made *Referees* in their Quarrels. It is true, I did ſome time ſince refuſe to be *Arbitrator* in a Caſe, where it muſt have turned to the Advantage of *Me* and *my Family*; but, Sir, what I would now adviſe with you upon is, perhaps, as odd an Affair as ever happened. I was ſome time ſince perſuaded to take an expenſive Journey *croſs the Country* to interpoſe in a Quarrel between ſome *neighbouring Gentlemen*; though I had really no manner of *Intereſt* in it; but I was very confidently aſſured that it might poſſibly, at ſome Time, or in ſome Way or other, affect *Me*;

Me; or, at leaſt, that it wou'd recover my Reputation, which had been hurt in this Particular, and reſtore me to the Character of being the *chief Arbitrator* in the County.——Well, Sir, to be ſhort, I ſet out on this *extraordinary Expedition*. I increaſed my Retinue; I rack'd my Tenants; I made a very great Expence; and my *Butler* and my *Coachman Robin* undertook to conduct me in the Journey; but too ſoon I found that they were utterly incapable of the Buſineſs they had undertaken, and quite ignorant of the *right Road*. Every Hour they miſled me into difficult and almoſt impaſſable Ways. I was continually joited, bruiſed, and every Moment in Danger of being overturn'd. My Coach was broke; my Horſes ſpoiled; I was obliged to hire others; I found myſelf impoſed on at every Inn I came to; my *Servants* demanding extraordinary Allowances at every Stage for venturing with me thro' ſuch *dirty Roads*; my Baggage was half ſpoiled, and at laſt I was ſo far from ſucceeding, that I was glad to get home again out of the *Scrape* as well as I could, without any Succeſs in the Buſineſs I was about; and now after having ſpent a *very great Sum*, and more Weeks in the Journey, than ſo many Days would have been neceſſary to have performed it in, I returned with my Equipage all cover'd with *Dirt*, and became the Jeſt of my *Neighbours*; but I no ſooner came home than my *Butler* and my *Coachman*, without waiting till I ſhould call them to Account for their *ill Conduct*, quarrell'd with one another; and it ſeems the Diſpute was not who deſerved moſt to be *puniſhed* for their Miſmanagement, but which of the Two had *merited moſt*; as if, after they had expoſed me to ſo much *Danger*, *Expence*, and *Trouble*, they had a Right to claim a *Reward* for not having drowned me, or broke my Neck in the Journey.

This, Mr. *D'Anvers*, is, I think, a remarkable Inſtance of the Inſolence of *bad Servants*. Make what

Uſe of it you pleaſe. It may be of Benefit to the Publick. I have found out ſince that my *Coachman* ſtands me in a conſiderable Sum every Year in * OAT-ALE, as he calls it; for which my Horſes don't thrive a whit the better; but when I complain of This, he raiſes a *Horſe-Laugh* and, without anſwering to the Point, ſwears no Man in *England* can drive *to an Inch* but *Himſelf*. I told him tho' That were true, it might give me an Opinion of his *Temerity*, but not of his *Skill*, or *Integrity*; and that I thought I ought to turn him off, and not live in Danger of having my *Bones broken*, to pay a Compliment to his *Vanity*.

R. *Yours*, G. E.

CORNHILL, *Dec.* 13th. 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq*;

SIR,

I Belong to a Club of *Merchants* in this Part of the Town, where your Health is conſtantly toaſted, as an Advocate for *Trade*, and am deſired by the whole Society to congratulate you on the late Acquittal of Mr. *Francklin*, at whoſe Tryal I had the Curioſity to be preſent. We direct our Congratulations to you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, becauſe we apprehend you to be principally concerned in this Affair; and we hope that we are at Liberty to do This without giving Offence to any Body. We ſhould be far from wiſhing you Joy on this Occaſion, if we thought you *guilty* of the Crimes laid to your Charge; that is, of being *diſaffected to his Majeſty*, and an *Enemy to your Country*.

No,

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* *A Cant-Term amongſt Grooms for what they cheat their Maſters of in buying* Oats *and* Hay.

No, we rejoice becauſe you have juſtified your *Innocence* in the Face of the World, and proved yourſelf *not guilty*. We rejoice that the *Verdict* of an *honeſt Engliſh Jury* hath confirmed our former, good Opinion of you; and we heartily wiſh that you may be able to juſtify yourſelf as fully upon all Occaſions, when you ſhall be call'd upon to do it in the ſame Manner.

We hope, I ſay, that we may do This without Offence; for in Caſes of a capital Nature the *Court*, that is the *King*, prays to God to ſend the Priſoner at the Bar a *good Deliverance*; and we look upon all *criminal Caſes* in the ſame Light. The only juſt End of *Proſecutions* being to puniſh Thoſe, who are hurtful to the Publick, and to deter others, by their Example, from committing the ſame Crimes; it is always to be wiſh'd, for the Good of Society, that the *Perſon accuſed* may be able to purge Himſelf and prove the Charge againſt Him to be groundleſs. It is the Duty of a *good Judge* to ſtate the Caſe indifferently between the *Crown* and the *Defendant*, to whom, in ſome reſpects, He is a Kind of *Council*; and ought to aſſiſt Him, if through Inadvertency or Ignorance of the Law, He ſhould ſlip any Thing material in his own *Defence*.

We can't tell, Mr. *D'Anvers*, what Opinion *ſome People* at the other End of the Town may have of you; but We can aſſure you that your Writings upon *mercantile Affairs* and our *late Sufferings in Trade* are very much approved of by us in the *City*. We are fully ſatisfy'd of your Intentions to *ſerve us*; and therefore We ſhould be very ſorry to ſee you involved in any Difficulties on *our Account*.

For this Reaſon, We could wiſh that you would, for the future, be very cautious of publiſhing any of the *inſolent Bravadoes* and *Rhodomantades* of the *Spaniards*; I don't yet know whether I am to call them our *Friends*, or our *Enemies*. Let them flatter and careſs Themſelves as much as They pleaſe with an Opinion of their *own Wiſdom*, and the *Figure*, which they have

have lately made in *Europe*, either *with*, or *without striking a Blow*. They are naturally *proud* and given to *boasting*, which can do us no Hurt, and deserves only our Contempt. Why therefore should you run any Hazards by publishing their *vain* and *insolent Braggadocios*, which are liable to be construed in a *criminal* Light, though you do it only with a Design of *exposing* them? ——— I grant, indeed, that the *Reflections* and even *Menaces* of our Enemies have been often published, for this Purpose, without giving Offence; particularly by the Author of the *Enquiry*, (as *one* of your Council very well observ'd) who put into the Mouth of the Duke *de Ripperda*, at that Time *Prime-Minister* of *Spain*, several insolent Expressions, which reflected very grosly, and without any *Disguise*, on the *Person* of his late, excellent Majesty; even such as threat'ning to *dethrone Him*, and *set up the Pretender to his Crown*; telling the World *that the People of* England *began to be weary of Him*, and calling Him, in plain Terms, PETIT MONSIEUR. Yet this Book, you say, was never call'd in Question by *Those in Authority*; and what is more, even the Duke *de Ripperda* himself, upon whom all these flagrant and most insolent Speeches are father'd, hath judg'd *England*, which He us'd in this Manner, the only proper Place, of all the World, for his *Retreat* and *Asylum*.

This is very true; but you cannot be ignorant, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the vulgar Proverb is often verify'd; which says *it is safer for* some Men *to steal an Horse than for* others *to look over the Hedge*. We often consider the *Man*, who speaks, as well as the *Words*, which are spoken; and this *Distinction* often makes the same Things *criminal in one Man*, which are esteem'd *meritorious in another*. I would therefore advise you to leave this dangerous Province to *those Writers*, who seem to be, at present, in an higher Degree of Favour than

than your ſelf. *Ictus Piſcator ſapit.* I leave the Application to you and am, in the Name of our *Club*,

Sir,

Your ſincere Well-wiſher, and

Humble Servant,

O. C. T.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq;*

Mr. D'ANVERS,

I Read your Paper, addreſs'd to the *Repreſentatives* of the good People of *England*, with ſome Pleaſure; and I heartily wiſh it may have that good Effect you ſeem to propoſe. Tho' you have not hitherto been quite ſucceſsful in your Endeavours, I hope that in this Caſe at leaſt you will have the Satisfaction to ſee ſome Fruit of your Labours. But you muſt pardon me, if I don't altogether agree with you in ſome few Particulars; as, for Inſtance, in what you ſay of the *entire Equality of the Members, and that no one becomes more conſiderable than another, by any other Means than by his* Service *to his King and Country.* Now, theſe Things are ſo plainly contrary to *Matter of Fact*, that I can by no Means aſſent to them. Beſides, I have ſeveral very good Reaſons, which it may not, at preſent, be proper to give. There is one Thing more, which I can't poſſibly come into. You ſeem to think it neither for the *Honour*, nor *Intereſt* of a Corporation to be repreſented by what you are there pleaſed to ſtile a FAGGOT; whereas nothing is ſo manifeſt, as that (in ſome *former Parliaments*) it would have been both for the *Honour* and *Intereſt* of a Number of Boroughs that I could name in *Cornwall*, *Norfolk*, and elſewhere,

and

and greatly for the Intereſt of the Nation in general, had They been repreſented by FAGGOTS ONLY.

R. *I am Yours*, &c.

TEMPLE, *Decemb.* 1, 1729. JOHN DOE.

From my own Chambers.

IT hath frequently been the Artifice of my Enemies, when they cannot prove me diſſaffected from my *own Writings*, to foiſt *others* upon me and ſometimes to publiſh the moſt infamous Scandal *Themſelves*, under ſome Diſguiſe, in order to fix *Imputations* and *Deſigns* upon me, which I have always ſincerely diſclaimed and abhorred.

Of this Sort is the dull and ſcandalous Advertiſement, publiſhed in the *Daily Journal* of *Tueſday Dec.* the 9th. I believe no Reader, who conſiders the Deſign of it, can be long at a Loſs to gueſs the *true Author*; for I think He diſcovers Himſelf very plainly by the following Marks.

1*ſt*, By putting forth his Scandal in a *Paper*, which He hath often made Uſe of to vent his ſcurrilous Reflections upon ſeveral Perſons of Honour.

2*dly*, By his publiſhing it immediately after Mr. *Franck-lin's Acquittal*; from whence He would inſinuate the Conſequence of that *juſt Verdict* to have been the giving a Looſe to Scandal of the *higheſt Nature*.

3*dly*, By a Liberty, which hardly one Man in this Kingdom preſumes to take, beſides *our Author*, of imputing his own Faults to *Perſons*, for whom every other Man hath the moſt awful Reſpect.

4*thly*, By that awkard Fineſſe of *abuſing Himſelf*, to conceal the *true Author*, and throw the Suſpicion upon *Gentlemen*, who as much deteſt the diſloyal Reflection, which ſeems to be contained in the Advertiſement, as They do the pitiful Craft of the *Author*; though even here his *Self-Love* breaks out moſt apparently

rently; for He cannot find in his Heart to speak plain, even when his Interest was concerned in it, but softens the well-known Name of *Robin Brass* into *Robin Brace*.

5thly, and principally by the *Stupidity* of the Composition; which hath ever been so remarkable in all his Productions, that it is become his distinguishing Characteristick; as likewise by the Allusion to his *darling Diversion*.

It cannot be deny'd, indeed, that there is some Truth in the Advertisement, as far as it relates to *Himself*; for it is notorious that his *Pack of Hounds* hath been very hard run for two or three Years past, and I believe He may stand in some Need of a fresh Supply; but methinks it was not altogether politick to disparage them publickly Himself, and make them the Instruments of conveying his foul Scandal, lest they should turn upon Him in Resentment and tear Him to Pieces, as They once served that celebrated Huntsman, *Actæon* of Old.

GRAY'S-INN, *Dec.* 15th, 1729.

C. CAL. D'ANVERS.

An EPIGRAM.

A Glorious new, prophetick Star
The eastern *Magi* drew from far;
A wondrous *Star* does now appear,
And governs all our *wise Men* here;
Tho' it's deluding dangerous Rays
Point out such dirty, slippery Ways,
That it's no heavenly Flame, I trow,
But knavish † *Robin Goodfellow*.

† *Ignis fatuus*.

N° 182. SATURDAY, *December* 27, 1729.

——*Dii Te*, Damaſippe, *Deaque*
Verum ob Conſilium donent Tonſore—— HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Eſq*;

Dear Caleb,

THE *Stoicks* were very opiniative of their own Wiſdom; and maintained, amongſt other ridiculous Tenets, that all Mankind were *mad*, except Themſelves. Your old Friend *Horace* expoſes this arrogant, overweening Maxim very pleaſantly in one of his Satires, under the Character of *Damaſippus*; who from an *ignorant Virtuoſo*, or a kind of *broken Stock-jobber*, ſet Himſelf up for a rigid Philoſopher of *this Sect*, and undertook to prove all the World *lunatick*. According to the Principles of theſe Men, the *Miſer* and the *Spend-thrift*, the *Proud*, *Ambitious*, *Luxurious* and *Corrupt* were in Reality no better than *Madmen*. In ſhort, *Ignorance*, *Folly* and *Vice* of all Kinds, from the King to the Beggar, were, in their Opinion, only different Species and Degrees of this *epidemical Malady*.

I have often wonder'd, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the *great Men* of thoſe Times would countenance, or even tolerate *ſuch a Sect*; the fundamental Doctrines of whoſe Creed were a ſtanding Libel upon the Age, in which they lived; and who, under the ſpecious Pretence of *Philoſophy* and *Inſtruction*, were diligent and conſtant Spreaders

Spreaders of *Scandal* and *Sedition*. Nay, I look upon it as a remarkable Inſtance of the Lenity of the *Roman* Government, under *Auguſtus*, that *Horace* Himſelf was not taken up and called to Account for writing and publiſhing ſuch a *Satire*; in which it is univerſally agreed, amongſt the Learned, that He only put it into *another Perſon's* Mouth, what He could not ſpeak ſo freely *Himſelf*, and made uſe of this ſilly Fellow, *Damaſippus*, to vent his *own Reflections* on the Vices and Follies of thoſe Times; particularly, where He makes Him inſinuate that *Male-adminiſtration* is one Species of *Madneſs*.

Si MALE REM GERERE *inſani eſt* —

which ſeems to contain a ſevere *Innuendo*, that *ſomebody in Power*, at that Time, was infected with *this Kind of Frenzy*; and yet it is well known that the *Satiriſt* not only eſcaped with *Impunity*, but enjoyed the Favour both of the *Emperor* Himſelf and of *Mecænas*, his chief Favourite, to a very great Degree. Perhaps, that *wiſe Prince*, and *honeſt Stateſman* might think that all Cenſure upon *Vice and Folly in general* (though liable to *particular Applications*, either to *great*, or *little Men*) was a Liberty within the Bounds of *juſt Satire*; of great Service to the Cauſe of Virtue; and what ought to be tolerated and encouraged under a good Government. That it was ſuffered to prevail, in a very free Manner, under the Reign of *Julius Cæſar*, and during the firſt part of the Reign of *Auguſtus*, is evident from many Inſtances, which could be produced out of Hiſtory. Indeed, when *Auguſtus* abandon'd Himſelf to all Manner of Tyranny, towards the latter End of his Reign, He grew out of Humour with theſe *ſatyrical Philoſophers*, and puniſh'd them for their Writings, by a violent Explanation of the *Law againſt Treaſon*, as you have formerly obſerved. The ſucceeding Emperors improved upon his Model, and car-

ried his Precedent into a Profecution of all ſatirical Writings, whether *general* or *particular*, *explicit* or *implicit*. Not only *Words*, (*ambiguous*, *equivocal Words*) but even *Signs*, *Emblems*, *Hieroglyphicks*, *Nods*, *Frowns* and *Smiles* were conſtrued, by the Imperial Advocates, into *criminal Innuendos*. In *Nero*'s Reign that great and good Man *Seneca*, his Tutor and honeſt Miniſter, ſuffer'd Martyrdom for putting the Principles of his *Philoſophy* into Practice; and ſeveral other plain-dealing *Stoicks*, (who, in the modern Phraſe, were *Libellers* by Profeſſion) underwent the ſame Fate.

Happy was it for *Horace*, that He did not live in thoſe Days; when all his inimitable Wit and Humour and Art would have ſtood Him in but little Stead. It would have been in vain for Him to think of eſcaping Puniſhment by concealing his courtly Satire in *ironical Panegyrick*; or by dreſſing it up in *Allegories* and *Parallels*; or veiling it under the Fable of a *Country Mouſe* and a *City Mouſe*; or putting it into the Mouth of *Damaſippus*, or any other *Adverſary*. He would have been told, no Doubt, that *Scandal* was not the leſs *Scandal* for being *diſguiſed*; that *innocent Words* were often made Uſe of to cover *criminal Meanings*, of which his *Proſecutors were the beſt Judges*; and that his Writings might be *Libels*, though the Matter contained in them were *true*; nay, perhaps, it would have been added that They were *Libels*, BECAUSE *it was true*; and the *Notoriety of the Fact* might have been made an *Evidence of his Intention*—— But theſe infamous Proſecutions and Reſtraints on the *Liberty of Writing* are branded in Hiſtory as Marks of the blackeſt Tyranny; and, I hope, for that Reaſon, They will never be made *Precedents* in any free Country.

I ſhall now return to the Purpoſe of this Letter; and hope it will be no Affront, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to ſay that you ſeem to be ſomewhat a-kin to the *antient Stoicks* in your Writings. Your Adverſaries have often reproach'd

reproach'd you (perhaps unjuſtly) with *Arrogance, Self-Conceit* and a vain Opinion of your *own Wiſdom*; and I confeſs that, if I apprehend your Meaning right, the Buſineſs of your Paper hath been to prove the World *MAD*; that is, according to the Principles of *Stoiciſm*, governed by a ſtrange Medley of *Ambition, Ignorance, Luxury* and *Corruption*. I hope, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I neither do you any Injuſtice, nor exceed my proper Bounds in this Aſſertion, which is the common Complaint of all Divines, Moraliſts and political Writers; but I deſire you to ſoften any Expreſſions, which you may think too unſeaſonable, and publiſh my Thoughts in what Manner you pleaſe; for I cannot pretend to be ſo good a Judge as you are, how far a Man may take the Liberty, in this nice Age, to cenſure and complain of *Vice*, without incurring the Imputation of a *Libeller* and the Penalties of the *Law*.

If you are not aſhamed of the Character of a *modern Stoick*, I wiſh you would explain this Syſtem a little farther, and expoſe the prevailing *Madneſs* of the preſent Age, as *Horace* did That of antient *Rome*. I am ſure there is ample Matter for a fine Diſſertation on this Subject, if you think the Times are not too tender and generally infected to bear it; eſpecially, if you might be allowed to trace the Marks of *State-Lunacy*, (as you formerly did Thoſe of a *wicked Miniſter*,) with Relation to *Peace* and *War*, to *Treaties, Alliances* and *Negotiations*.

I am ſenſible that ſuch an Undertaking would be liable to ſeveral Exceptions and little Sarcaſms; as, for Inſtance, that you were endeavouring to revive an exploded Syſtem of *heathen Philoſophy*, with an inſolent View of libelling Mankind, and branding them with *Folly* and *Madneſs*, in order to exalt the Wiſdom and Integrity of your *own Sect*. Nay, perhaps, your Obſervations upon the *bad Politicks* of the World in general might be applied to *ſome particular great Stateſmen* of this Nation, and conſtrued into Reflections

upon our late *wise* and *excellent Negotiations*; though we can make no Doubt, from their *past Conduct*, that it will appear undeniably evident to all the World, *when the Articles of the Treaty are made publick*, that They could proceed only from *honest Hearts, long Heads*, and *deep Understandings*.

But whether you may think fit to run the Hazard of such far-fetch'd Constructions or not, I cannot forbear taking some Notice of *another Sect of Philosophers*, whom I shall distinguish by the Name of *Anti-Stoicks*; the Principles of this *modern School* being the very Reverse of Those establish'd by *Zeno* of old. These *Philosophers*, who are grown very numerous amongst us, have some Resemblance to the antient *Epicureans*, as They place their *summum Bonum* in *present Pleasure*, and the Gratification of their *Appetites*, without any Regard to *future Consequences*; but then They carry their *Principles* a great deal farther than their *Predecessors* ever did; for They not only consult *Pleasure*, as their *chief Good*, but pursue it by the most *wicked Means*, and purchase it at the Expence of the Happiness and Prosperity of Millions. In short, They differ from all the *antient Sects*, who never excluded *Virtue* out of their Systems, and are diametrically opposite, both in their Principles and Practices, to the *Stoicks*, who held it as an establish'd Maxim that *Knaves* and *Fools*, of all Kinds, were downright *Madmen*; whereas these *new Philosophers*, in direct Contradiction to them, assert that They are the *only sober Part* of the World. If they hear a Man talk with any Emotion against *Bribery* and *Corruption*, or any other *fashionable Vice*, They shake their Heads at one another, and seem to pity Him for the Misfortunes, which have turn'd his Brain. According to their Maxims, a Man, who refuses to do any dirty Work for a *Pension*, or quits a good *Place at Court*, rather than come into ruinous Measures, is fit for nothing but *another in Bedlam*.

I

The

The *preſent Head* of this School (who is a perfect Maſter of the *anti-ſtoical Philoſophy*) conſtantly inculcates theſe *two Precepts* amongſt his Diſciples; *firſt*, to repreſent all his *Adverſaries* as *Lunaticks*; and *ſecondly*, to go boldly on with Him, through thick and thin, without minding the Reflections of *Thoſe*, who have ſo manifeſtly *loſt their Senſes*.

How often, Mr. *D'Anvers*, have I heard the Diſciples and Emiſſaries of this great *Arch-Philoſopher* lament your Caſe in *Coffee-Houſes* and other *publick Places?* When any of your Papers happen to be applauded in Company, They give us a ſmiling Sneer, and cry; *ay, ay, perhaps the Man may* write *and* mean *well enough; but he is certainly* mad, *and ſtands in need of clean Straw and a dark Room; for would any Man*, in his Wits, *go ſo directly contrary to the* Stream *and his* own Intereſt? *Is ſuch a Fellow able to correct the Meaſures of an* Adminiſtration? *Can He think it in his Power, to baniſh* Corruption *and* reform *the World? Alas! poor Creature! He might as well hope to batter down a* certain Gentleman's *magnificent Palace in* Norfolk, *by running his wiſe Head againſt the Walls of it!*

In this Light, Mr. *D'Anvers*, do theſe *Anti-Stoicks* look upon you and every Body elſe, who thinks and acts in the ſame Manner. But, Thanks to God! their *Sect* (though too numerous and powerful) is bnt ſmall in Compariſon to the *whole Nation*, and continues to decline every Day. Their inſolent and pernicious Tenets have been ſufficiently expoſed. The People have already felt the bad Effects of them, and ſeem reſolved to oppoſe their Deſigns for the future. We have a gracious King, in whom We may confide; and an honeſt Parliament, which We have Reaſon to expect will ſoon exert Themſelves, and put a finiſhing Hand to that *great Work*, which They ſo gloriouſly began the laſt Seſſion. Thus will They fulfil the

Words

Words of the *sacred Writer*, which say that *Fire shall consume the* TABERNACLE OF BRIBERY.

I am SIR,

Your constant Reader, and humble Servant,

PHIL-HORATIUS.

Tom's *Coffee-house*, Covent-Garden, Dec. 18, 1729. *A.*

To the Author of the admirable COUNTRY JOURNAL *of* Saturday *the*——1729, *upon Non-Attendance in Parliament.*

SIR,

I Am asham'd to own my Name, when I confess my self to be one of those *Criminals*, whom you so justly rebuke in your Paper above-mentioned.

I am not able to keep my self from shewing this Piece of Sincerity; and confessing the Abhorrence, which you have raised in me of my self, by painting in such lively, such strong and true Colours, the Figure, which an Actor of such a Part makes, both in Town and Country; a Picture, which must infallibly reform all such Minds, as are not abandon'd, beyond the Possibility of Amendment; and This, I hope, will appear to be the Case of very few *Britons*.

For my own Part, I am unable to give any one Reason, that can well bear the Light, for the Conduct, which I have been publickly guilty of, for several Years past. I have frequently found my self moved, warmed, delighted with the Spirit of Honour and Eloquence, with which several great Truths have been delivered to us by *some Persons*, who have dared

to

to exert themſelves, boldly and nobly, towards redreſſing the Grievances and Sufferings of their Country, though in Oppoſition to great Power, a great Majority, and notwithſtanding the Odium, which they were ſenſible it would draw upon them from ſome *particular Perſons* in Authority.

The Conſequences, indeed, have been the moſt unjuſtifiable Slanders, ſpread zealouſly, though inſignificantly. The falſeſt Motives, ſuch as *Reſentment* and *wrong Ambition*, have been aſcribed as the Cauſe of a *noble Behaviour*, which they, who had neither Virtue nor Courage to *imitate*, were forced to *envy*.

This I have frequently obſerved, with inward Indignation; and I have ventured to expreſs it very freely in *ſelect Companies*; nay, I have reſolved within my ſelf to be one of the *illuſtrious Few*, on the next proper Occaſion that ſhould offer; but when it came to the Point of Performance, I do with the utmoſt Shame acknowledge that my Heart and Spirits have failed me, and I have either ſervilely followed *Numbers*, though bluſhing with inward Conſciouſneſs at what I was doing; or, which is almoſt as bad, made a mean Compoſition between *Principle* and *Intereſt*, by *abſenting* my ſelf in the Day of Trial.

The Truth is, I could not hitherto bring my ſelf to ſupport, with proper Indifference, angry Looks and and ſome other Inconveniencies that might enſue upon them; ſuch as the Loſs of a *Place*; or *ſomething equivalent to a Place*, which being *more ſecret*, might be leſs liable to *Suſpicion*.

I own, I have heard it ſaid (and I think with Juſtice too) that receiving a *preſent*, *private Advantage*, whilſt *publick Ones* are totally neglected, is like keeping up one's Conſtitution by *ſtrong Spirits* and *Cordials* only for a Time; which Method muſt infallibly bring on a ſpeedy and ruinous End. Yet I have ſometimes flatter'd my ſelf that thoſe Things, which

I ſecretly condemn'd, might be redreſs'd without my Aſſiſtance; and for that Reaſon have frequently endeavour'd to ſatisfy my Conſcience and avoid the Reſentment of *great Men*, by an *inglorious Neutrality*; but now, at laſt, I am ſo touch'd, ſo affected by your admirable Reaſons, on the whole of this Subject, that I feel ſtrong Reſolutions forming in my Mind to ſhew my ſelf, on all future Occaſions, a new Man; that is, to throw in my Mite toward promoting the Succeſs of whatever I ſhall, at any Time hereafter, think *right* and *juſt*.

Accept, SIR, of this Return of the *prodigal Son*, in *your unknown Admirer, Reſpecter, and faithful Servant*,

A WHIG *in Profeſſion.*

From my Country-Houſe,
Dec. 2. 1729. O.

From my own Chambers.

IT is very remarkable that every Winter, towards the Meeting of Parliament, ſeveral little Scriblers are employ'd to pelt me with their Writings; in which perhaps there may be a double View; for though I am ready to acquit the *Writers* Themſelves of any other Deſign than *getting a Livelyhood by abuſing Me*; yet their *Patrons* have plainly another End, by making their *Scurrilities*, which are always very *licentious, an Argument againſt the juſt Liberty of the Preſs*. This Stratagem was made Uſe of the laſt Seſſion; and I find that it is to be play'd over again this Winter. But as their Papers have always had the Misfortune to be very *ſhort-liv'd*, when I did not take ſome Notice of them, They have condeſcended to write me ſeveral Letters, acquainting me with their Caſe, and begging that I would be charitably diſpoſed to give

give them ſome Credit, and promote the Sale of their Works, by expoſing them to the World. As I have formerly done This, out of meer good Nature, upon ſome Occaſions, it ſeems to give them Encouragement and Expectations of the ſame Favour again; but I deſire to be troubled no more upon this Account; for I hereby declare that I ſhall, for the future, pay no Sort of Regard to them, unleſs They diſcover ſome Appearance of Wit or Argument in their Writings; or blab out ſome unlucky Truth, or make ſuch Reflections, of a publick Nature, as require Animadverſion.

It is for the *laſt Reaſon* that I am induced to take Notice of two Papers of this Kind. The *firſt* is the *Flying Poſt* of *Tueſday* laſt; in which ſome *obſcure abandon'd Wretch* takes the Liberty, in the groſſeſt Terms, to traduce the *preſent worthy* SHERIFFS of this County, and an *honeſt*, *Engliſh* JURY for doing their Duty, according to their Oaths. Nay, this *infamous Writer* carries his foul Accuſation ſtill higher, and inſinuates a *Partiality* even in the *Charge to the JURY*. His Words are, "that contrary to the *plain Fact*, to "the *Proof*, to the *CHARGE of the Court*, *and* "*as much Conviction of Conſcience as They were capable* "*of*, They clear'd *D'Anvers* of the Guilt of his in-"famous Libel, and very wiſely and honeſtly *took it to* "*Themſelves*."——Again, "One may reaſonably "hope that a *Dozen ſuch Fellows* cannot again be "pick'd up any where in *England*, let who will have "the *Direction of the Pannel*."

The *other* is the Author of a ſtupid Paper, which came out one Day this Week, under the Title of the *ſeaſonable Writer*, and threatens to moleſt us, *as often as Occaſion requires*, *during the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament*; but I believe I ſhall not think fit to take Notice of any of his future Lucubrations. I now couple Him with his Brother the *Flying Poſt*, becauſe he not only hath the Impudence to abuſe the *Jury* in the ſame

ſame Manner, calling them an *infamous Jury*, for no other Reaſon than becauſe They would not conform their Conſciences to the Purpoſes of *ſome Men*; but even inſinuates that there is, at preſent, more than *one Monarch* of *GREAT BRITAIN*, in the following Words, *viz.* "Nor would I here attempt a "Detail of the various Methods, publickly and pri-"vately taken by Them, to raiſe popular Prejudices "againſt the preſent POSSESSORS of the Throne." Now I take it that a *Monarchy* of *two*, or *more Perſons*, is a Contradiction in Terms, from the very Meaning of the Word, which denotes the *Power of ONE*; and I never heard of any Law, which inveſts any *other Perſon* with a co-ordinate, regal Power with the King Himſelf. He cannot ſurely mean the *Pretender*; for, God be praiſed! He is not a *preſent Poſſeſſor of the Throne*, and I hope never will. Once indeed the *regal Power* was divided between *two Perſons*, by Act of Parliament; I mean between King *William* and Queen *Mary*; but That is not our Caſe at preſent. I wiſh therefore that this *vile Proſtitute* had not ſome Deſign of throwing out *Imputations*, too groſs to be explain'd. Perhaps, He will refer us to the Context, and ſay that by the *preſent Poſſeſſors* of the Throne He meant *thoſe Perſons*, againſt whom I am ſuppoſed to write; *i. e. ſome particular Miniſters*, who ſhall be nameleſs. But This makes his Inſinuation ſtill the worſe; for what can be more inſolent than an Aſſertion *that his Majeſty admits any of his* Servants *into a Partnerſhip of his Kingdom?*

As zealous as I am for the *Liberty of the Preſs*, I never denied that it may be carried into *Licentiouſneſs*, which I think ought to be puniſhed, though not by the *Suppreſſion of uſeful Writings*; and though I am very unwilling to ſpirit up any Proſecutions of this Nature; yet I think no Writers can deſerve them more than Thoſe before us, who have thus inſolently aſpers'd

aſpers'd the *worthy Magiſtrates* of the City; accuſed an *impartial, diſintereſted, Engliſh Jury* of Corruption, without any Shadow or Pretence of Reaſon; and endeavoured to diminiſh his Majeſty's regal Prerogative, by ſetting a *Partner* upon his Throne.

GRAYS-INN, *Dec.* 24, 1729. CAL. D'ANVERS.

D.

APPENDIX.

A SHORT

VIEW

OF THE

State of AFFAIRS,

With RELATION to

GREAT BRITAIN,

FOR

Four Years past;

WITH SOME

REMARKS

ON

The TREATY lately publiſhed, and a *Pamphlet*, intitled, OBSERVATIONS upon it.

Printed in the Year 1730.

A

SHORT VIEW

OF THE

State of AFFAIRS,

With Relation to

Great Britain, &c.

A Pamphlet having been lately publiſhed by Mr. *Buckley*, intitled *a Treaty of Peace, Union, Friendſhip and mutual Defence between the Crowns of* Great-Britain, France *and* Spain, *&c.* it cannot be improper nor unſeaſonable to take a ſhort View of the State of Affairs, with Relation to *Great-Britain*, for ſome Years paſt, and the Proſpect, which *this Treaty* gives us for the Time to come.

In the Year 1724, his late Majeſty was pleaſed to aſſure us, from the Throne, that We had *Peace with*

ALL POWERS *abroad*; and we were, in particular, so far from having any Contests, or Disputes with the *Emperor* and the *King of* Spain, as to all outward Appearance at that Time, that We were made *Mediators* between them, at the Congress of *Cambray*, in Conjunction with *France*; but immediately after This, the Face of Affairs was intirely changed, by the Conclusion of the *Treaty of Vienna*; which gave our *Ministers* such dreadful Apprehensions of some *secret Designs* against the Interest of *Great-Britain*, that it induced them to project a *Counter-Allyance*, called the *Hanover Treaty*, to oppose the Machinations of these *new Allies*, and prevent the Execution of their *Schemes*.

The secret Motives to this *sudden, unaccountable* and *formidable Union* (as it was stiled in the *Enquiry*) between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* were canvassed very largely, last Winter, by the Gentlemen concerned in the *Craftsman* and his *Opponents*; and I think it was demonstratively proved, by the *former*, that the *sending back the Infanta* was the *immediate Cause*, with Relation to *France*, which *threw the King of* Spain *into the Arms of the* Emperor; and that our *Refusal to accept of the sole Mediation*, upon this Occurrence, out of Complaisance to our good Allies the *French*, was *one accessory Cause* of it; as *another* might be our Refusal to deliver up the Fortress of *Gibraltar* into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, in Pursuance of a *positive Engagement*, as they pretended, and a *Promise*, founded on a LETTER from his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*; which hath been since fully explained to the World.

The *Emperor* might likewise have some *private Reasons* for accepting this Offer from *Spain*, besides those advantageous Terms, which were proposed to Him, and have been so much exaggerated.

But whatever might be the secret Springs of *this Allyance*, the open and profess'd Motives to the Pro-

ject of the *Treaty of Hanover* were the *ſecret Articles*, which the *Treaty of Vienna* was ſaid to contain; and Theſe indeed were the only reaſonable and juſtifiable Motives, which could engage our *Miniſters* in it; for a *meer Union* between the *Emperor* and *Spain* was not, of itſelf, of ſo formidable a Nature, as it hath been repreſented. They might have concluded a *Treaty of Peace*, or *Commerce*, or *mutual Defence*, as all Nations have a Right to do, without giving any reaſonable Ground of *Reſentment*, or *Apprehenſion*. Nay, We might have ſafely acceded to *ſuch a Treaty*, as We were invited to do. But it was the *ſecret*, *offenſive Treaty*, which raiſed our Indignation, alarmed our Fears, and put us upon our Guard. For this Reaſon the Author of the *Enquiry* employ'd all his Strength to prove that there really was ſuch a *ſecret Treaty*; and He ſeem'd to be as poſitive as if He had been preſent at the ſigning of it, that the *following Articles* were contain'd in it; *viz.* 1*ſt*, that the King of *Spain* had entered into an Engagement to ſupport his *Imperial Majeſty*, by Force of Arms, in carrying on a Trade from *Oſtend* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in Violation of Treaties, as it was alledged; and had given him greater Privileges of Trade in the *Weſt-Indies* than to the *Engliſh*. 2*dly*, that his *Imperial Majeſty* had taken a like Engagement to aſſiſt the King of *Spain* in endeavouring to wreſt *Gibraltar* out of our Hands. 3*dly*, that they had Both jointly engaged to make an Attempt in Favour of the *Pretender*, and to ſet Him upon the Throne of *Great-Britain*. 4*thly*, that a Marriage was agreed upon between the Infant *Don Carlos*, and the *eldeſt Caroline Arch-Dutcheſs*, which threaten'd *Europe* with *univerſal Monarchy*.

Theſe were the *ſecret Engagements*, which gave Occaſion to the *Treaty of Hanover*; and upon which the Expediency of it, and the Conduct of our *Miniſters* hath been juſtified both within Doors and without.

Indeed

Indeed, this *ſecret, offenſive Treaty* and the *Articles*, ſuppoſed to be contained in it, were immediately and very ſtrenuouſly denied by the contracting Parties in the *Treaty of Vienna*; particularly, *That* of endeavouring to ſet the *Pretender* on the *Britiſh* Throne; which the *Emperor* ordered his Miniſter to declare, upon his *Imperial Word*, to be intirely *without Foundation*; but the *Emperor* is a *Papiſt*, as the Author of the *Enquiry* very juſtly obſerved; and therefore his *Word* could not be of equal Validity with the learned Arguments of a *good, Proteſtant Writer*, or the ſolemn Aſſeveration of a *Proteſtant Miniſter*. I ſpeak This with all due Deference to our *French Allies*; who, though *Papiſts in Principle*, have been found to be thoroughly *Proteſtants* in their *Practices*.

It muſt be confeſſed likewiſe, that whatever might be the Engagements of this *ſecret, offenſive Treaty*, which was never yet brought to Light, there does not ſeem to be the leaſt Proof (I mean, beſides the Arguments and Aſſeverations before-mentioned) that the *Emperor* gave his *catholick Majeſty* any Aſſiſtance, during the Siege of *Gibraltar*; or that his *catholick Majeſty*, on the other Hand, ſupported the *Emperor* in his Project for carrying on a Trade from *Oſtend*; or gave Him any Privileges of Commerce in the *Weſt-Indies*, ſuperior to what had been granted to the *Engliſh*; or that there ever was any Deſign of a Marriage between *Don Carlos* and the *eldeſt Arch-Dutcheſs* of *Auſtria*—But Theſe are *Poſtulata*, which We are obliged, and every *good Engliſhman* will be ready to grant, for the Juſtification of *thoſe wiſe* and *ſteady Meaſures*, which our *Miniſters* have ſo glorioufly purſued, for ſeveral Years paſt.

Great Pains have been taken, on *both Sides*, to throw the Occaſion of our late unhappy Diſturbances upon *each other*. The *clandeſtine Manner*, in which the *defenſive Treaty of* Vienna was carried on, without communicating it to the Court of *Great-Britain*, was made

made a principal Argument, in the *Enquiry*, that there must be a *secret, offensive Treaty*. On the other Hand, the *Imperialists* have endeavoured to throw the *Odium* back upon us; and alledg'd, in their Excuse for this *private Way of Treating*, that We gave the first Umbrage, and set them an Example for it, by concluding a *private Treaty* at *Madrid*, whilst We were under the Circumstances of *Mediators* between *that Court* and *Vienna*——But *This* also is a very nice and curious Question, which I shall not take upon me to determine.

Without enquiring therefore any farther into the Grounds and Reasons of these *two great Allyances*, let us consider what have been the Consequences of them; and here I think, there can be no Room for Dispute; since whatever might be the Motives to the *Treaty of Vienna*, or the *secret Designs* of it, the Conclusion of a *Treaty with France*, in opposition to it, was certainly the Occasion of widening our Differences with *Spain*, and engaged us in *those Measures*, both *hostile* and *pacifick*, which have been since taken.

Three large Squadrons of Ships of War were immediately equipp'd, at a vast Expence, and sent into the *Baltick*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *West-Indies*. The Commander of the *last* had ever memorable Orders to lie before *Portobello*, and block up the *Galleons*, which were then coming home, and even to use *persuasive Force*, in order to possess himself not only of *Them*, but likewise of the *Flotilla*, which lay at *la Vera Cruz*, some thousand Miles off; but the *Spaniards* not being so complaisant as to put themselves in his Power, He continued upon that unwholesome Station 'till his Ships were almost destroy'd by the *Worm*, his Provisions spent, and his Men perish'd, by Thousands, in the most miserable Manner. Nor was *This* all. The King of *Spain* looked upon this Procedure as an Act of *Hostility* and resented it accordingly,

ingly, by laying a vigorous Siege to *Gibraltar*; and i hath been made a Doubt whether our *Allies* did no view it in the ſame Light; for though it was ſtipulated, in the *Treaty of Hanover*, that the contracting Parties ſhould aſſiſt and ſupport each other, in Caſe their Dominions were *attack'd*; though We had frequent Aſſurances given us, by a *certain Gentleman* that the *French* would make the Siege of *Gibraltar* a *Caſus Fœderis*, and were ready to march a large Army into *Rouſſillon*, to divert that Deſign, or oblige the *Spaniards* to raiſe it; yet, I ſay, nothing of all This was done. The Siege continued ſeveral Months; and as the *Emperor* did not aſſiſt the King of *Spain* in carrying it on, as the *Author of the Enquiry* told us he had engaged to do; ſo neither did the Court of *France* move a Man to our Aſſiſtance in the *Defence* of it, as *One* of the Patrons of the *Enquiry* aſſured us they would; but they obſerved an exact *Neutrality* at moſt, and ſat unconcern'd Spectators of our Danger and Expence.

I cannot forbear obſerving, in this Place, that tho' theſe extraordinary, naval Armaments and Expeditions were look'd upon as *Hoſtilities* by the *Spaniards*, and produced a Return of *Hoſtilities* upon *Us*; yet they did not anſwer the End, which *farther Hoſtilities* would very probably have done; and at the ſame Time gave our *Allies* an Opportunity of withholding their Aſſiſtance, by opening a Diſpute whether we were not the *Aggreſſors*; for, in that Caſe, they were not obliged to aſſiſt us, by Virtue of an *Allyance*, which was *defenſive only*. Thus we had the Misfortune to do enough to provoke the *Spaniards* to *Hoſtilities*, but not enough to bring them to a *Compliance with our Terms*.

Our *Land Forces* were conſiderably augmented upon the ſame Account. Our *Taxes* were of Conſequence increaſed; and our *national Debts* were ſo far from being reduced in ſuch a Degree, as they might otherwiſe

wiſe have been, that inſtead of diſcharging a great Part of them, which we could have done, we have been incurring a *large Debt*, which we need not have done.

In the mean Time, our *Trade* decay'd in every Part of it, and dwindled away almoſt to nothing in ſome of its moſt beneficial Branches; our *Manufactures* declin'd; and our *Merchants* ſuſtained inſupportable Loſſes; their Ships being taken without Number in the *weſt Indies*, the *Ocean*, and even in our *own Channel*; having no *Convoys* to guard them, and no *Letters of Reprizal* granted to make themſelves Satisfaction.

At length, *Preliminaries* were agreed upon for a general Pacification; which were ſigned at *Paris*, on the 20th——31ſt of *May*, 1727, by the Miniſters plenipotentiary of his *Imperial* Majeſty, his *Britannick* Majeſty, the *moſt chriſtian King*, and the *States General*; and on the 2d——13th of the next Month they were ſign'd at *Vienna* by the Miniſter of his *catholick Majeſty*; that is, *above two Years and an half ago.*

By *this Convention* it was ſtipulated that, within the Space of *four Months* after theſe Articles were ſigned, a *Congreſs* ſhould be open'd; in which all the *Rights* and *Pretenſions* of the contracting Powers ſhould be examin'd, diſcuſs'd and determin'd; and that the ſeveral Powers ſhould earneſtly injoin their reſpective *Plenipotentiaries* to avoid *all Obſtructions*, or *Embarraſſments*, which might in any Manner *protract*, or *diſturb* the *Congreſs*.

But the *Preliminaries* were no ſooner ſigned, than *new Difficulties* and *Diſputes* were ſtarted concerning the *Meaning* of them; particularly with regard to *thoſe Articles*, which affected *Great Britain*; ſuch as raiſing the *Siege of Gibraltar*, and releaſing the Ship *Prince Frederick*, as well as the other Ships taken by the *Spaniards*. His *catholick Majeſty* inſiſted that

a mere *Suspension of Arms*, stipulated by the *Preliminaries*, did not imply an *actual Raising the Siege*; and that the Restitution of the Ship *Prince Frederick* was not mentioned, or included in them; whereas we demanded both, by Virtue of *those Articles*. The Court of *Spain* insisted likewise on an *Indulto* of 20 *per Cent.* upon the Effects of *private Persons*, embark'd in the *Flotilla*, contrary to the 5th *preliminary Article*, as it was alledged on *our Part*.

After these *new Disputes* had been agitated, with great Warmth, for several Months, they were adjusted by *another Convention*, negotiated by the Count *de Rottembourg*, Minister of *France* at the Court of *Spain*, and sign'd at the *Pardo* on *March* the 6th, 1728. By *this Convention* the *Preliminaries* were *new model'd*; and it was again agreed that *all the respective Pretensions on each Side should be produced, debated and decided in the Congress*. Upon This the King of *Spain* agreed to the *Ratification* of the *Preliminaries*; but This was no sooner done than still *other fresh Difficulties* arose, concerning the *Orders*, which were agreed on both Sides to be sent to the *west Indies*, in Pursuance of this Act of *Ratification*; but at length *these Difficulties* were likewise got over, for the Present, and the *Congress* was open'd at *Soissons* on the 3d—14th of *June*, 1728, *above eight Months after the Time, that was stipulated by the* Preliminaries.

It is necessary to observe here again that, during all these Negotiations, We had no *Minister* at the Court of *Spain*, but depended on the good Offices of *M. Vandermeer* and the Count *de Rottembourg*, who managed all our Affairs; and I have been told that *One* of them did not act his Part intirely to our *Satisfaction*.

However, this Point of the *Congress* being at last obtained, after a tedious Course of *Negotiation* and *Sollicitation*, attended with various *Schemes*, *Projects* and *Conventions*, We had the strongest Assurances given

us

us that our Affairs would be now brought to a *ſpeedy* and *happy Accommodation*; that our *Trade* would be ſecured, for the future, on a *firm* and *ſolid Foundation*; that our *unfortunate, ſuffering Merchants* would receive ample Satisfaction for all their *paſt Loſſes*; and that the Affair of *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*, which had given us ſo much Uneaſineſs, *would not be ſo much as mentioned in the Congreſs*——But what was the Event? The *Plenipotentiaries* aſſembled in Form; and, having ſpent five or ſix Months in *Ceremonies*, and *Compliments* to Cardinal *Fleury*, as well as *Entertainments*, *Balls*, *Hunting-Matches* and other *Diverſions*, they broke up and returned to their reſpective Courts, without ſettling any *material Point* towards the *general Pacification*, ſo long promiſed and deſired.

Indeed a Project, call'd a *proviſional Treaty*, was concerted by the *Allies of Hanover*, and laid before the World laſt Winter, with pompous OBSERVATIONS upon it; in which the great Wiſdom of *that Scheme* was explained, and Hopes were given us that their *Imperial* and *catholick Majeſties* would accede to it. But as *this Project* was far from giving a general Satisfaction *at home*, ſo neither was it ever accepted by *thoſe Powers abroad*. On the contrary, the main Buſineſs of the *Parliament* was no ſooner got over, than Affairs ſeemed again to be tending to a *Rupture*. The Conferences at *Soiſſons* continued ſuſpended, and *military Preparations* were renewed in moſt Parts of *Europe*; particularly at SPITHEAD; where a powerful, united Fleet of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships of War aſſembled together in a very formidable Figure, as if deſigned for ſome great Enterprize of the laſt Importance; but having lain there at Anchor, for the whole Summer, in a very peaceable and hoſpitable Manner, for the Reception and Entertainment of all *Viſitors*, (whoſe Curioſity to view ſo fine a Sight drew them thither from all Parts of the Kingdom) they ſepa-

rated at laſt, without committing one *Act of Hoſtility*, and returned in Safety to their reſpective Harbours.

The Continuance of this *pacifick Armada* at *Spithead*, for ſo many Months together, hath given ſome People an Handle to ſuggeſt that *one of our Allies* hath received ſome Aſſurances of Satisfaction for their extraordinary Expence on this Occaſion; and that our military Genius was reſtrained from any hoſtile Exploits by the prevailing Influence of the *other*. They go farther, and alledge that the *Dutch Squadron*, which join'd *ours*, was not originally deſigned for *that Service*. They tell us, with great Aſſurance, that they were equipped to prevent the Deſigns of his *Daniſh* Majeſty, with Reſpect to the *Altena Company*; and that *that Affair* being made eaſy for the Preſent, We prevail'd upon them, by our *perſuaſive Influence*, to make a Figure with *us* at *Spithead*; but that they had no Orders to ſail *any farther*, ſuppoſing we had been in a *fighting Humour*, being neither *victualled* nor otherwiſe *provided* for any Expedition. But I make no Doubt that theſe Suggeſtions will be ſoon proved groundleſs, in a proper Place, and that the Equipment and Diſpoſition of *this Fleet* will appear to be *wiſe*, *prudent* and *neceſſary*.

It hath been however our peculiar Misfortune that, during all this Time, whilſt our *Expences* and *Taxes* have run very high, our *Commerce* hath been grievouſly interrupted in its moſt valuable Branches; not only by the continued Depredations of the *Spaniards* on our Merchants in the *weſt Indies*, but likewiſe by a very ſtrict *Embargo*, which it was thought expedient to lay, for above two Months together, on all Ships bound from *Jamaica* and *Virginia*, on ſome Apprehenſions, as it is ſaid, of a Deſcent from the *Spaniards*. I call *This a peculiar Misfortune to us*; becauſe our *Allies* have not lain under the ſame Diſadvantages in their *Trade* and the Conſumption of their *Manufactures*; but, on the contrary, have reap'd a very great

Benefit

Benefit from *our Misfortunes*; especially the *French*; who brought their *Sugars*, *Tobacco*, and other *American Commodities* to a much better Market in *Europe*, by the *Restraint*, which was continued so long on *our Shipping* in those Parts.

But it will be asked, perhaps, why I dwell so long on this melancholy Side of our Case; and do not rather congratulate my Countrymen on that happy Turn, which the *Treaty*, lately concluded, hath given to our Affairs? My Answer to This is, that I thought it necessary to take a short Review of our Affairs *for some Years back*; to consider HOW *these Troubles were brought upon us*; *what we have suffered by them*; and *what kind of Treatment we have already met with*; in order to form a right Judgment on our *present Condition* and our *future Prospect*.

I might also make a Doubt whether the *Treaty*, lately published by Mr. *Buckley*, is the genuine Treaty concluded at *Seville*; because it does not appear to be published by *Authority*; at least, whether *all the Articles* are contained in it. I confess, it seems very improbable, for several Reasons, which I may hereafter mention.

However, I will just take a short View of it, as it is given us; and see whether it contains all those *good Things*, which have been so often promis'd, and we have so much Reason to expect, after all our *heavy Losses* and *extraordinary Expences*.

Such an Examination is the more necessary at present, because the Publication of *this Treaty* was immediately follow'd, according to annual Custom, with *ridiculous Observations* upon it, calculated to impose upon the World, by straining it to a Sense, which the Words will not bear, and could not possibly be intended by the *contracting Parties*.

But before I examine these *Observations*, I must beg Leave to make some Remarks on the *Introduction* to them.

This Method of wiredrawing and refining upon *Treaties*, in oppoſition to their natural Conſtruction and the true Deſign of them, hath been too much practiſed of late, for certain Purpoſes, which are no Secrets to the World; and I confeſs it hath always given me a ſtrong Suſpicion of Inability, or bad Deſigns, when there is any Occaſion for *Explications* and *Refinements* of this Nature; for as *plain Terms* are always more ready than *ambiguous* and *equivocal ones*, They will always be prefer'd by Men of *Underſtanding* and *Integrity*, who will never ſuffer Themſelves to be impos'd upon, nor endeavour to impoſe upon their Country by *Words*, which are liable to *eternal Cavils* and *Diſputes*.

Theſe anniverſary Writers have often put me in Mind of the *French Mountebank*, mention'd by Mr. *Addiſon*, who had always a little Boy running before Him through the Streets of *Paris*, and crying, *my Father cures all Sorts of Diſtempers*; to which the *Doctor* replied with a grave Voice, *the Child ſpeaks Truth*— Charlatans in *Politicks* muſt have their *Zanies* and *Merry-Andrews*, as well as *other Quacks*; but as a *certain great Doctor* hath ſent his *Children* before Him, without any Succeſs, for ſome Years paſt, He hath thought fit, at laſt, to *ſpeak for Himſelf*, and be the *Trumpeter of his own Fame*.

If theſe *political Commentators* could perſuade foreign Princes to underſtand *Treaties* in the Senſe, which They are pleaſed to put upon them, it would be a real Service to their Country; but the Caſe is quite otherwiſe, and their *Explanations* have been hitherto conſtantly diſowned by the *Powers abroad*, as ſoon as They have ſerved the *Purpoſes*, for which they were intended *at home*. This hath often had a double ill Effect, for as it gives us the Character of *awkard Trickſters* in *foreign Courts*, ſo it always makes us uneaſy and diffident *at home*, when We find ourſelves

ſelves diſappointed and deluded into *falſe Expectations*.

This is too evident from what hath been obſerved upon the *Treaties* and *Conventions* before-mention'd; and I wiſh it may not be verified in the *preſent Treaty* and the *Comment* now before us; upon which I ſhall take the Liberty of making ſome Remarks, without being in the leaſt affected with the Scurrility of the Author, who ſeems to have the Vanity to think that his inſolent Reflections and dogmatical Aſſertions will preclude all *farther Examination*, and deter others from contradicting what He lays down. He might as well have ſaid; *pray, Gentlemen, read over theſe Articles, and confeſs what a* glorious Peace *I have procured for you. It is ſufficient, Gentlemen, that I ſay it; and if you offer to be of another Opinion, it is a plain Sign that you are no better than* Jacobites *and* Papiſts *in your Hearts.*

It ſeems very extraordinary that *this Gentleman* ſhould think proper to juſtify his *Treaty*, before any *Objections* had been publiſhed againſt it; for though He is pleas'd to ſay that *ſome People have taken Pains to diſcredit it, even before they had ſeen it*; I confeſs I am at a Loſs to gueſs *whom* He means. I am ſure *thoſe Writers*, with whom He ſeems to be ſo very angry, have purpoſely declined any Animadverſions upon it, though they might perhaps have been apprized of ſome of the *Articles*, till it was publiſhed by *Authority*; and I hope a Man of his *Importance* would not condeſcend to turn *Pamphleteer* and waſte ſo much of his precious Time in anſwering the private Whiſpers of *Coffee-houſe Politicians*.

His great Officiouſneſs therefore, in having the *firſt Word* and anſwering *Objections*, before they are made, looks as if He was conſcious to Himſelf that the *Peace* was not ſound at the Bottom, and ſtood in need of ſome *Explanation* to ſupport it. But how hath He attempted to vindicate it? Why, by celebrating his

own excellent Conduct, and abuſing *ſome particular Gentlemen*, whom He is pleaſed not to like, in ſo licentious a Manner, that nothing can add to his *Vanity* and *Inſolence*, but endeavouring, by his Intereſt in any Place, or in any Manner, to prohibit the ſame Freedom of writing on the *other Side*.

I hope that He will have ſo much Modeſty, at leaſt, as not to make any ſuch Attempt after *This*; and I think it a very ſeaſonable Opportunity to put the World in mind of the great Uſefulneſs of the *Liberty of the Preſs*; for if any *Reſtraint* ſhould be laid upon it, by *his Means*, (and I believe no *other Man* will ever attempt it) they cannot expect any Accounts of *political Affairs*, of any Kind whatſoever, beſides ſuch *partial* and *ſcandalous Gloſſes* as That, which is now before us.

The *Obſerver* ſeems very unhappy, at his firſt ſetting out, in the Deſcription he gives of *thoſe Men*, who, as he ſuppoſes, will find Fault with *this Treaty*. He tells us *they are like thoſe Wretches that live upon* dangerous Coaſts, *whoſe Profit ariſes from* Wrecks; *who ſubſiſt by the* Misfortunes *and* Calamities *of their Fellow Creatures; and whoſe* Affliction *is conſequently an happy Preſage of Calm and Serenity*. I ſay this Deſcription does not ſeem to ſuit *Thoſe*, to whom he applies it, ſo well as it does a *great, overgrown, wicked Miniſter*, who hath enrich'd himſelf by the Spoils of a Nation; whoſe Power ſubſiſts by the *Misfortunes* and *Calamities* of his Fellow Subjects; and whoſe *Downfal* would conſequently be an happy Omen of the *Proſperity of his Country*.

He inſinuates, afterwards, that the Arguments of theſe wicked Men, his *Oppoſers*, have made no ſmall Impreſſion at the Court of *Madrid*. How ſtrange and, at the ſame Time, how melancholy a Conſideration is it, that ſuch a *mean, inconſiderable* and *deſpicable Faction*, as They have been often repreſented, ſhould have any Influence in *foreign Courts*; or be able to give the

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leaſt Obſtruction to *Him* and his *Aſſociates*, in their wiſe and notable Negotiations?

He is likewiſe full of his Apprehenſions, that the Suggeſtions of this ſame *mean* and *inconſiderable Cabal* will have ſome Influence on the Counſels of *Vienna*; and ſays, *We may moſt certainly expect that They will now apply their whole Skill and Invention to find out ſuch Reaſons as may beſt ſerve to divert his* Imperial Majeſty *from becoming a Party to theſe Engagements.*

Now, in my humble Opinion, this Work is already done to their Hands by the *Obſerver* Himſelf, who hath furniſh'd his *Imperial Majeſty*, in this very Pamphlet, with ample Reaſons for not acceding to the *Treaty*, as I ſhall preſently ſhew; and, in the mean Time, I will leave the Reader to judge whether charging ſo great a Prince with *Ingratitude* and *Breach of Faith* (as this *Writer* does by a very ſtrong Implication) is the moſt probable Method of making Him our *Friend.*

He cannot forget ſurely how ſuch Uſage, from *Him* and *his Creatures*, upon all Occaſions, was reſented at *Vienna* ſome Years ago. Nay, He ſeem'd to be ſenſible of it laſt Winter, and began to ſoften his Language towards *that Court*, and beſtow'd the ſame Kind of Rhetorick on their *catholick Majeſties*; but now, it ſeems, Things have taken another Turn, by his *wiſe* and *ſteady Meaſures*, and the *Emperor* muſt ſubmit to be abuſed in the ſame Manner again.

But to return—The Reaſons of his Apprehenſions that this *little, powerful Cabal of his Adverſaries* will uſe all their Intereſt at the Court of *Vienna* to divert his *Imperial Majeſty* from acceding to the *Treaty*, are contained in the following Words. *It cannot certainly be expected that the* ſame Perſons, *who were ſo much alarmed at the Negotiations, and apprehended ſo many ill Conſequences to Themſelves from the Concluſion of a* proviſional Treaty, *ſhould ſhew leſs Concern and Diſappointment upon the News of a* ſolid and laſting Peace;

or

or ſhould be leſs alert and active in their Endeavours to prevent its becoming general.

This is equally candid with that Character, which He gives of *thoſe Perſons*, in the preceding Pages, and equally probable with the reſt of his Conſequences. How *ſolid* and *laſting* this *Peace* is like to be, We may judge from his own *Obſervations* on the chief Articles of it; but I muſt firſt take Notice that *thoſe Perſons*, who cannot poſſibly reap any Advantage from the higheſt Taxes, muſt be very fond of parting with their Money, if They are leſs deſirous of ſeeing them diminiſh'd, by a *ſolid* and *laſting Peace*, than ſome *other Perſons*, who may heap up *farther Riches* by them.

I am well appriz'd, from paſt Experience, that even expoſing the vile Sophiſtry of *this Pamphlet* may be called *furniſhing the* EMPEROR *with Arguments againſt acceding to the Treaty*, and *endeavouring to prevent its becoming general.* To This I ſhall only reply, once for all, that it is a *Topick*, which may be equally urged, at any Time, againſt any *bad Meaſures*, or *wicked Miniſters* whatſoever; and therefore I am ſure that the ſenſible Part of the World, who do not hold an implicit Faith in *Miniſters*, will lay no Manner of Streſs upon it, let it be repeated and ecchoed back upon us never ſo often, or ſtrongly, by *this Gentleman* and his *Aſſociates*.

Having made our Way thus far through the *Billingſgate* Rubbiſh of his *Introduction*, We come to the Subſtance and Marrow of his *Book*; and here, perhaps, it will be ſaid that He does not *fight againſt the Air*; ſince He begins his *Obſervations with taking Notice of ſome falſe Inſinuations, which* theſe ſame wicked Perſons *have already let fall with Regard to* this Treaty, *which they could not*, ſays He, *at that Time have poſſibly ſeen, and of the Contents of which they would perſuade us that the* Directors *of a* Company, *extremely intereſted in the Conſequences of* this Treaty, *were equally ignorant*;

ignorant; *though* thoſe Directors *had ſeen and approved them.*

Can any Thing be more ridiculous than this Paragraph, which carries along with it a full Anſwer to the Charge it contains? For who could poſſibly apprehend that *theſe Directors had ſeen the Contents of the Treaty, at that Time*; or were not *equally ignorant of them with all other Engliſhmen*, who are *equally intereſted*, at leaſt, *in the Conſequences of it?* Who could imagine (till this *worthy Gentleman* was pleaſed to inform us of it) that the *Managers of a monied Corporation* ſhould be more favoured than all the reſt of his Majeſty's *landed* and *trading Subjects*; or even than the whole Body of the *Proprietors* of this Company itſelf, in whoſe Name They expreſſed their *Approbation* of it?

We all know in what Manner ſuch Things are often carried; and if it ſhould appear that this Obſequiouſneſs to *miniſterial Purpoſes* was drawn from them by the indirect Methods of any of their *Managers*, without having the ſame Knowledge communicated to them, We hope They will ſhew their Reſentment of it at the enſuing Election of *Directors*, and not ſuffer themſelves to be led by *any Men*, who make a Property of them upon every Occaſion.

It hath likewiſe been hinted, quoth the *Obſerver*, *that the ſecuring of the Succeſſion of* Don Carlos *in* Italy, *by* Spaniſh Garriſons, (*which makes one of the principal Stipulations of the* new Treaty) *is a Step, that may prove dangerous to the Peace of* Europe; *and that the* Emperor, *in particular, is obliged in Intereſt to prevent its taking Effect.*

In the firſt Place, I appeal to the World *who* were the firſt, that not only *hinted* but expatiated very largely on the Danger, which *Europe* had Reaſon to apprehend from the Proſpects and growing Grandeur of *Don Carlos?* Did not the *Author of the Enquiry* begin it three Years ago; and was it not very ſtrenu-

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ouſly inſiſted upon laſt Winter, by this very *Writer himſelf* and his *Advocates*, that this *Succeſſion*, upon any Terms, was abſolutely *contrary to the Intereſt of all Europe*, and particularly to *That of Great Britain?* But ſince he hath now thought fit to alter his Note, for *wiſe* and *ſteady Reaſons*, ſo far as even to affirm that inſtead of being *contrary to the Intereſts of all* Europe, there can *be no ſolid Objection made to it*; and ſince the *Succeſſion of* Don Carlos *in* Italy *is made one of the principal* Stipulations *in the new Treaty* (as He, for once, very *juſtly obſerves*) I will give this Affair a particular Examination.

I ſhall not ſay any Thing, in this Place, concerning the Equity of diſpoſing of *Dominions*, to which we cannot pretend any ſort of *Right*; becauſe it may ſeem ridiculous to turn *Moraliſt*, and diſcuſs a Point of *Caſuiſtry*, where *Politicks* are concerned.

Beſides, the *Obſerver* hath told us that whatever Objections might be made to *this Succeſſion*, it is already *conſented to and eſtabliſhed by the Quadruple Allyance*; though if it ſhould be allowed to be *bad* in itſelf, I do not ſee how This will mend it, or that *one falſe Step* is any Juſtification of *another*; eſpecially if it could be avoided. And I ſhall leave it to this *nice Diſtinguiſher* to ſhew any Reaſon why we could not depart from *one Point* of the *Quadruple Allyance* as well as *another*; or whether, indeed, the *whole* of it is not vacated by this *Contravention*; eſpecially as far as it relates to *Don Carlos*, and the *Emperor*.

However, I will conſider this Affair in a *political View* only, and as it relates to the *Quadruple Allyance*; by which it was ſtipulated that the Dutchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, in Caſe the *preſent Dukes* ſhould die without *Iſſue Male*, ſhould deſcend to the *eldeſt Son* of her *catholick Majeſty* and his *Heirs Male*. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, by *that Treaty*, that *thoſe Dominions* ſhould never be in the Poſſeſſion of any Prince, who ſhall at the ſame time be *King of Spain*; that

no

no King of *Spain* ſhall ever take upon Himſelf the *Guardianſhip of ſuch Prince*; and farther that, during the Lives of the *preſent Poſſeſſors* of thoſe Dominions, neither the *Emperor*, the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, or the Prince before nominated to *that Succeſſion*, ſhall be permitted to introduce any Troops of their *own Nation*, or of any other Nation in *their Pay*, into *thoſe Dominions*, nor to put any Garriſons into any of the *Towns*, *Ports*, *Citadels*, or *Fortreſſes* belonging to them; but that for ſecuring this *eventual Succeſſion*, upon the Demiſe of the *preſent Poſſeſſors*, the principal Places of thoſe Dominions ſhould be garriſon'd with a Body of *Swiſs Forces*, not exceeding *ſix thouſand Men*, to be paid by *Germany*, *France*, and *Great-Britain* in equal Proportions; or that, if the *Swiſs Cantons* could not conveniently raiſe ſuch a Number of Troops ſoon enough for that Service, his *Britannick Majeſty* was to furniſh them, with the Conſent of the other contracting Parties, till the *Swiſs* Troops could be raiſed and take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Places.

Whereas it is ſtipulated by the *preſent Treaty*, *that the introducing of Garriſons into the Places of* Leghorn, Porto-ferraio, Parma *and* Placentia, *to the Number of ſix thouſand Men of his* CATHOLICK MAJESTY'S TROOPS, *and in* HIS PAY, *ſhall be* EFFECTUATED WITHOUT LOSS OF TIME.

The *Obſerver* ſpends ſeveral Pages in juſtifying this Stipulation in Favour of *Don Carlos*, and pronounces the Court of *Vienna* to be very *ill adviſed*, and very *unjuſt*, or *unreaſonable*, if they refuſe to accede to the Treaty of *Seville*, on Account of *this Variation* from the *Quadruple Allyance*, by the Introduction of *Spaniſh*, inſtead of *Swiſs* Garriſons, into the fortified Places of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*.

Though I am not one of *Thoſe*, whom our *great Author* hath repreſented ſo averſe to the general Tranquility of *Europe*, as to ſuggeſt Arguments, which may

may prevent its taking Effect; yet I must beg Leave to express my own Apprehensions, that his *Imperial Majesty* may think it somewhat derogatory to his *Honour*, to permit the Succession to so considerable a Fief of the *Empire* to be disposed of, not only without his *Consent* and, in the Manner of it, contrary to a *solemn Treaty*, of which he was a *principal Party*; but likewise with an Air of *Triumph* over him, and as an Expedient to dissolve an *Allyance*, which hath been represented so *advantageous* to him.

His suffering himself to be disunited from so *beneficial an Allyance*, rather than come into *this Project*, is likewise an Argument to me, that he thought it contrary to his *Interest*.

But as this Introduction of *Spanish Troops* is to be EFFECTUATED *without Loss of Time*, let us consider how far this Variation from the *Quadruple Allyance* may affect *Great-Britain*, and the general Tranquility of *Europe*, proposed to be established *by this Treaty*.

I think it is allowed by *this Writer* and his *Advocates*, as well as others, that our present Circumstances require a *speedy* and *solid Peace*; but I am afraid it will be found, that *this Variation* is very far from tending to facilitate that good End; for however averse the *present Dukes of* Tuscany *and* Parma, and all the *Italian Princes*, might be to have their Dominions disposed of in this Manner, even after their *Death*; yet they might, perhaps, think fit quietly to submit to it, upon the Terms of the *Quadruple Allyance*, when they saw all the chief Powers of *Europe* concurring in a Resolution to that Purpose; but when these Terms are varied from *neutral* to *Spanish* Troops, contrary to the Inclination of *one* of the contracting Parties, they will certainly endeavour to oppose it; and I confess *this Variation* does not seem immaterial to *Them*, for the following Reasons;

First,

First, the present Dukes might think their *Persons* to be safer, whilst their Towns were garrison'd by Forces, which would not join in any Violence upon them, without the Concurrence of *three neutral Kings*, who had no Reason to be so impatient for the speedy Accession of *Don Carlos*, as their *catholick Majesties* seem to be.

Secondly, *neutral Garrisons* would certainly lie under a less Temptation to *meddle*, *directly or indirectly*, *in Affairs of the political*, *œconomical and civil Government*.

If therefore, for these, or any other Reasons, the *present Possessors* should refuse Admittance to the *Spanish Troops*; and his *Imperial Majesty*, upon their Application, should think fit to assist them in it, either for just or unjust Reasons; I leave the World to judge, whether *this Treaty* hath procured us that *only good End* of all our late tedious Negotiations, which we have so long desired, and hath been so often promised us; I mean a *general* and *lasting Peace*; for if we must be involved in a *War*, as *this Writer* seems to prognosticate, it is of but little Consequence with *what Prince* it begins; and I must put him in Mind, that though a *Peace* with *Spain* may be more advantageous to a *trading Nation* than a *Peace* with the *Emperor*; yet a *War* with the *Emperor* would be, for the same Reason, more burthensome and impracticable to a *maritime Power*, than a *War* with *Spain*.

I have heard it often alledged in Conversation, that it is not in the Power of his *Imperial Majesty* to prevent the Execution of this *Treaty*; but this Allegation has been sufficiently confuted by the Author of the *Enquiry*, who told us that the *Emperor alone was capable of disturbing it*, as well as by the Assertion of the *Writer* before us, who says *that had that Succession been left open*, *all* Italy, *considering the Strength and Influence of those Dominions*, *which the* Emperor *hath already got Possession of in that Country*, *must in all*

Probability have fallen into his Hands; or at leaſt into ſuch Hands, as muſt have had an entire Dependance on him. In another Place he ſays, *that the* Emperor *can be under no Apprehenſions of Danger on this Head, having conſtantly, in the Neighbourhood of thoſe Garriſons, a Number of Troops more than ſufficient to awe and check them, ſhould they offer to exceed the Bounds preſcribed them.*

My Inference from This is, that if his *Imperial Majeſty* hath ſuch an Influence in *Italy*, that he could have poſſeſſed himſelf of theſe *Dutchies*, in oppoſition to all the *Italian Princes*, in caſe *this Succeſſion had been left open*; or is even ſtrong enough to *awe* and *check* theſe Troops, when put in poſſeſſion of the *fortified Towns*; he may certainly give a great Oppoſition to their *Admittance*, when joined with the Wealth and Power of the *two Dukes*, and perhaps of ſome *other Italian Princes*; ſo that it is not *now the only Queſtion, whether* this Variation *will make that Engagement more effectual, or not.* It is likewiſe a Queſtion, whether ſuch a Violence upon *thoſe Princes*, as to put *Them* and their *Dominions* under the Power of *Spaniſh Troops*, may not ſpirit up an Oppoſition to it. If *neutral Troops* were to be put in Garriſon, the Engagement would have been equally *effectual*; more conſiſtent, perhaps, with his *Imperial Majeſty*'s Honour; and, without Doubt, leſs diſagreeable to the *preſent Poſſeſſors*.

The *Obſerver* advances another Argument in Defence of *this Variation*, which he ſeems to think an undeniable Reaſon for our conſenting to it; and That is, *that it frees us from an Engagement we were before under, of paying one third Part of the Expence, which would have been requiſite for maintaining* neutral Garriſons *in the Dutchies of* Tuſcany *and* Parma.

I am glad to ſee any Appearances, in *this Gentleman*, of *frugal Deſigns*; but I doubt This may prove the Occaſion of much more *Expence*; for if it ſhould happen to be the Caſe, that *neutral Garriſons* might have been

been *amicably admitted*, and that *Spaniſh Troops* will be *oppoſed*; we may lie under a Neceſſity of maintaining above ſeven times that Number of Men in *Germany*.

And yet this *frugal Scheme* worked ſo ſtrongly upon him, that he ſays *any* Miniſter *would have deſerved the ſevereſt Puniſhment, who ſhould have adviſed the King to have deferred*, for one Month only, *the Accommodation of our Differences with the Court of* Spain, *for the ſake of* THIS ALTERATION; though it may be the Means of involving us in a *War*, inſtead of procuring us a *general* and *laſting Peace*. But I can eaſily ſee the Reaſon which might induce a *Miniſter* not to defer it, *for one Month only*; eſpecially *towards the Concluſion of the Year*.

Thus ſtands the Caſe of *this Variation from the Quadruple Allyance*, with Regard to the *Emperor* and the preſent Dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*. Let us now conſider how it ſtands with Relation to *Spain*.

By *this Treaty* we have ſtipulated not only to EFFECTUATE *the Introduction of* Spaniſh *Troops*, but likewiſe to eſtabliſh *this Succeſſion* and guaranty it, for ever, againſt any Oppoſition, *in ſuch Manner that thereby it may reſt ſecure and exempt from all Events*.

If therefore the *Emperor*, in Conjunction with the *Italian Princes*, or any *other Powers*, ſhould think fit to oppoſe it, we cannot avoid entering into a War with *Him* and his *Allies*; and if we ſhould happen to fail of Succeſs by coercive Methods, after perhaps a great Number of expenſive Campaigns, the *Spaniards* might complain of the *Non-execution* of the *Treaty*, in one of its moſt important Articles, and vacate the *whole*, upon plauſible Allegations that however we might have *attempted*, we had not, according to the Tenor of the *Treaty*, EFFECTED the Introduction of *Don Carlos* into *Italy*.

It is likewiſe very obſervable that there is no Proviſion in *this Treaty*, as there was in the *Quadruple Allyance*,

lyance, to prevent the Conjunction of *these Dominions*, upon any Contingency, with the *Crown of Spain*.

And here, I think, I have much better Grounds than the Author of the *Enquiry* had, to assert that there must be some *secret Treaty* besides *That*, which is made *publick*; for though it is stipulated that the Introduction of *Spanish Troops* into *Italy*, for securing the Succession of *Don Carlos*, shall be *effectuated without Loss of Time*; yet no Provision is made in *what Manner*, and at *whose Expence*, they are to be carried thither.

This is one Reason, amongst many others, which induces me to believe that there are some *secret Articles* not yet produced; especially, since we have lately heard Distinctions made, by *this Gentleman* himself, between a *publick*, OSTENSIBLE *Treaty* (as He phrased it) and a *private Treaty*, kept in Reserve. This puts me in mind of the *exoterical* and *esoterical* Doctrines of the antient Philosophers; the former of which they propagated amongst the *Vulgar*, and kept the latter for *learned Men* only, and *private Conversation* amongst themselves. I am apt to believe that our *modern Statesmen* have built upon this Foundation, and borrowed their Method of Negotiating from the Principles of *these Philosophers*; since, upon examining most of our *late Treaties*, we shall find very *few*, which are not restrained by some *private*, or *esoterical Articles*.

Since therefore such liberal Concessions have been made to *Spain*, let us next enquire what Advantages are granted in Return to *Great Britain*, with regard to our *Trade* and *Possessions*, which have been brought under Dispute.

Our *Author* tells us, that all *former Treaties* and *Conventions* being confirmed by the *first Article*, we have a very *full Acknowledgment, on the Part of* Spain, *of our Right to* Gibraltar *and the Island of* Minorca; but, as the Pretensions of the *Spaniards* to the *former* have

have been founded on the Convention at *Madrid* in the Year 1721, ſome People may be apprehenſive that they will renew that Claim, upon a proper Occaſion; ſince this *Convention* is confirmed, as well as any other, by *that Article*.

We muſt therefore, in ſuch a Caſe, rely upon the *ſecond Article*, in which the King of *Spain* guaranties all his Majeſty's *Kingdoms*, *States* and *Dominions*; and I hope, with our *Author*, that *Gibraltar* is ſecured to us, under one of theſe Denominations, *beyond all poſſibility of Doubt, or Cavil*. But I think I may ſafely accept of his *Defiance, to ſhew in what manner they could be* more effectually *ſecured*; which they moſt undoubtedly would have been, either by a *ſpecifick Renuntiation* of all Right and Pretenſions to them for the future; or by uſing his own Terms, *foreign Acquiſitions*, or *Poſſeſſions*. I mention the Term *Poſſeſſions*, becauſe our *Miniſters* ſeemed to be ſenſible of the Comprehenſiveneſs of it, by inſerting it in the *Treaty of Hanover*; and the making uſe of it, in the *Articles of Seville*, would have contained a full Acknowledgment of our Right to *thoſe Places*; and if the *Spaniards* had a ſincere Intention to confirm *that Right*, they would have ſuffered it to be expreſſed in Terms as clear as *Thoſe*, in favour of *Don Carlos*. If they were not *ſincere*, but had ſome *Reſerve*, I am afraid that a different Conſtruction of ſo important an Article will render the Peace leſs *ſolid* and *laſting* than the *Obſerver* promiſes, and every good *Engliſhman* hath Reaſon to wiſh.

The other Point, which concerns us, relates to the Re-eſtabliſhment of our juſt Privileges in *Commerce*, and the Compenſation due to our *Merchants* for their *Sufferings* during the Rupture; which are left to be ſettled by *Commiſſaries* of both Nations, who are to aſſemble at the Court of *Spain*, and to finiſh their Enquiries within the Space of *three Years*.

There seems to be some room for *three Objections* upon this Head.

First, as to the *Place*; which some People think would have been more properly fixed at *London*; where our Merchants, for whose Relief *this Commission* was principally intended, could with much *less Trouble* and *Expence* have produced the *authentick Proofs* and *Vouchers* for their Losses, and reply to any *Objections*, that may be made to their *Demands*.

The next is with respect to the *Condition*, upon which this Compensation is to be made; and That is, *that the Ships, Merchandize and Effects shall not have been taken, or seized upon account of unlawful Commerce*, without specifying, or explaining what shall be deem'd *unlawful Commerce*; which hath ever administred Matter of Dispute between the *Spaniards* and the *English*.

The third Objection is to the *Length of Time* assigned to this *Enquiry*; which I find some Merchants apprehend may, in a great Measure, invalidate *that Stipulation*; for the *Spanish Ministers* cannot be ignorant of the *Italian* Proverb, *Chi guadagua Tempo, guadagua Toutto*; *He that gains Time, gains every Thing*.

These *Commissioners* are likewise to discuss and decide his *catholick Majesty*'s Pretensions to the Restitution of the Ships taken in the *Mediterranean*, in the Year 1718; an Article, which may be so cast up by *Spanish* Accomptants, as to over-ballance the Account of the *British* Merchants, by *several hundred thousand Pounds*.

The *Observer* tells us, *that there was the less Pretence for declining this Discussion, because we were sure it would, upon Examination, appear that it was the Fault of the* Spaniards *only, that those Ships were not put into their Possession*; from whence he would infer, that they cannot expect any *Satisfaction* for them; though he tells us himself, that at the Time those Ships were offer'd to be delivered at *Portmahon*, they

were in such a *decay'd Condition*, that, upon the Refusal of the *Spaniards* to accept of them, they were, by the Order of the *Governor*, *sunk in the main Sea*. It is therefore reasonable to presume, that they will expect *Reparation* for them; or why should they have insisted on a *Stipulation* to that Purpose?

The *Observer* farther says, that the *Spaniards* found their Claim to *this Restitution* upon the *Treaty* of 1721; the *very same Treaty*, upon which they likewise found their Pretensions to *Gibraltar*; the *very same Treaty*, which we concluded privately at *Madrid*, whilst we were *Mediators* between that Court and *Vienna*.

As *this Convention* therefore of 1721, (which, perhaps, it were to be wished had never been made) is confirmed by the *first Article* of the *present Treaty*, I do not see why the *Spaniards* may not insist upon the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, by Virtue of *this Treaty* (if there is any such *private Article* in it, as they alledge) as well as the Restitution of *Ships* taken in the *Mediterranean*; unless it be allow'd, that *this Article*, with Regard to the Case of *Gibraltar*, is derogated from, in the *second Article*, under the Words, *Kingdoms*, *States* and *Dominions*; which I hope will occasion no future Dispute.

I had almost forgot to take Notice of *one Article*, which I confess I was somewhat surprized to find in the *Treaty*, or at least express'd in *that manner*; I mean the *third*, where it is said that the MINISTERS of their *Britannick*, and *most christian Majesties*, having PRETENDED (as it is in the *Original*) that the Treaties of *Vienna*, between his *Imperial Majesty* and the King of *Spain*, contain'd an Infraction of the *Treaties of Commerce*, antecedent to the Year 1725; his *catholick Majesty* declares, as he had before declared, *that he never had any* SUCH MEANING. I say, I was somewhat surprized to see an *Article* expressed in *this Manner*; because it may be construed into a Reflection on the

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Understanding or Integrity of *some Persons* of great Importance; and considering the CORDIALITY, *with which his* catholick Majesty *entered into this Treaty*, I cannot doubt that he would have suffered *this Article* to be worded in *other Terms*.

Whether the *Treaty*, lately concluded at *Seville*, be *just*, *honourable* and *advantageous* or not; I must leave the World to judge whether *this Observer* hath proved it to be so; but I am very ready to agree with him in acknowledging his *Majesty's Goodness* to us, and that the *Interests of* Great-Britain *had the chief Place in his Thoughts*.

I know very little of the Disputes between *his Majesty* and the King of *Prussia*; but if *that Prince* hath forcibly taken away any of his Majesty's *German* Subjects, he hath certainly a just Right to *Reprisals*; as I think our *Merchants* had for the *Ships* unlawfully taken from them by the *Spaniards*.

Neither do I know of any *Britons*, who now look upon the King of *Prussia* as their *Hero*, and could not formerly *prevail upon themselves to treat him with common Decency*; but I remember very well that *some Men*, who now set him forth as a *weak*, *inconsiderable Prince*, represented him, about four Years ago, as a very *potent* and *profitable Ally*.

I am as much at at Loss as *this Author*, to see *how it can be the Duty of any* Englishman *to encourage foreign Powers to invade the King's* German Dominions, and to excite the *neighbouring Princes to oppress a People, meerly because they acknowledge the* same Sovereign *that we do*. I scorn, as much as *he*, to represent *that Country barren* and *despicable*; though I cannot help thinking the *British Dominions* much more considerable, both to *his Majesty* and *Us*, and deserving the *first Place in our Thoughts*. The *former* hath certainly *the common Claim of all Protestant Nations to our Favour and good Wishes*; but how far we are obliged, under the Name of *Protection*, to engage our selves

ſelves in a *War* upon that Account, I muſt leave to the Deciſion of the *Act of Settlement*, and to *that Way of thinking* upon it, (as our *Author* expreſſes himſelf) *in which the* Parliament *ſhall declare themſelves to be.*

I cannot conclude, without taking Notice of the Diſingenuity of *this Writer*, in putting Caſes and preſſing Arguments of a very *high* and *perſonal Nature*, which cannot be anſwered without ſuch a free Examination, as may be thought *improper* and *diſreſpectful*. The Words of the late Earl of *Halliſax*, when *Miniſter of State*, upon a Subject of *this Kind*, are very candid and applicable to the preſent Occaſion; *viz. that it is not juſt to preſs an* Argument, *which puts another Man in Pain, when he goes to* anſwer *it.*

But This hath been the conſtant mean Artifice of our *Author* and his *Advocates*. When we offer to argue with them, *their Cauſe* is always the *King's Cauſe*, and *their Meaſures* muſt be the *King's Meaſures*; which is ſometimes true, in *one Senſe*, as they are carried on by *his Authority*, and in *his Name*; but I muſt beg Leave to inſiſt upon it, that *Miniſters*, by the Conſtitution of this Nation, are anſwerable for *all their Meaſures*, though tranſacted by the *King's Authority*; and that they ought to be puniſhed for *bad Treaties*, though concluded under His *royal Sanction.*

I hope I have preſerved a proper Decency of Language through theſe Sheets; but if I ſhould be thought to have let fall ſome Expreſſions with too much Warmth, they ought to be imputed to that Virulence of Style and Manner, with which our Author hath thought fit to treat this Subject.

When the Reader conſiders how very lately the *Treaty* and *Obſervations* were publiſhed, he will conclude that theſe Thoughts upon them muſt be very ſudden, and thrown together without any Order, or Method. I need not therefore ask his Indulgence for

any

any Inaccuracies of *Style*, or little Miſtakes, as to the *Reaſoning*, or *Facts*, into which I may have unwarily fallen, and ſhall be ready to acknowledge upon Conviction.

I thought ſome immediate Antidote neceſſary to expel the Poiſon, which it was the Deſign of *this Pamphlet* to ſpread through the Kingdom. This was the Occaſion of my writing in ſo much Haſte; and I make no Doubt that the ſame Subject will be ſoon treated by a much more *able* and *maſterly Hand*.

A.

THE

THE OBSERVATIONS ON THE TREATY OF *SEVILLE* EXAMINED.

Printed in the Year 1730.

THE OBSERVATIONS ON THE TREATY OF *SEVILLE* EXAMINED.

I Shall not treat the *cholerick Author of theſe Obſervations* ſo ill as He deſerves to be uſed. But let him not miſtake my Meaning. I am One of that Number of *Britons*, who bear him no *Eſteem* in the midſt of his *imaginary Succeſs*; not entertain the leaſt *Fear* of him in the midſt of his *real Power*.

The *Lenity* I ſhall exerciſe, proceeds from pure *Contempt*. What other Sentiment can *He* create, who ſends an empty Declamation into the World (for ſuch I ſhall inſtantly prove it to be, in all its Parts) only to ſhew us what we knew before; that he *bluſters moſt* when he is *moſt afraid*; and that if his Enemies intend to *turn his Head*, they are in a very fair Way of ſucceeding?

This manner of Treatment of him will, I am ſure, be approved by *thoſe two Gentlemen* in particular, againſt whom he is thought more immediately to direct his *Billingſgate* Dialect. As they may defy him to maintain what he has the Front to aſſert, they have a Right to deſpiſe his *Invective*. This Weapon rarely does Hurt to any but Thoſe, who wield it; and ſurely if ever it is blunt and harmleſs, it muſt be ſo in the Hands of *One*, to whom Honours have not been able to communicate Dignity, nor Power Authority; to whom long Habits at Court have not been able to give ſo much as the Manners of a Gentleman, nor long Experience in Buſineſs the Knowledge of a Miniſter.

Leaving him therefore to wallow in that Mire, from which he can never be waſhed, I proceed to the Examination of his laſt notable Performance; in which I ſhall have the leſs to do, becauſe the Author of *the ſhort View of the State of Affairs* hath anticipated many Things, which I ſhould otherwiſe have been obliged to mention; and to that *Treatiſe* I take the Liberty of referring Thoſe, who are deſirous to enter into a more minute Detail than I ſhall trouble the Publick with at this Time.

The firſt thing, which ſtrikes me, is the Difficulty of gueſſing for *whom* a great Part of this Pamphlet, which I examine, was written. I may venture to pronounce, that it could not be written for the Publick; nor indeed for any one Perſon, who regards the Publick enough to hearken to it, and to be informed by it.

This Author hath been accuſtomed very much to flatter himſelf by the Favours, which *Fortune* hath beſtow'd, in her Wantonneſs, upon him; and yet he could hardly hope to perſuade the Generality of Men, that the Point laboured the laſt Year by *Thoſe*, who oppoſe him, (and who, for that very Reaſon, have the Publick on their Side) was to *furniſh* SPAIN *with Arguments*

guments to juſtify ſeizing and detaining the South Sea Company's Effects and the Depredations upon our Merchants in the weſt Indies. He could hardly hope This; becauſe he knew that the Publick was daily a Witneſs to the loud Complaints, made by theſe Perſons, of the *Seizures*, *Detenſions* and *Depredations*, which our Merchants ſuffered, without being defended, or having the Means of doing themſelves Juſtice put into their Hands. The *Papers*, writ on this Side of the Queſtion, are ſtill in the Hands of every one; and he, who can read, may ſee, in flat Contradiction to this *modeſt Perſon*, that his *Adverſaries*, who wiſhed that *Britain* had been kept out of *new* and *unneceſſary Broils*, were equally zealous that ſhe ſhould extricate herſelf by *ſuch Means* as became a powerful and a warlike Nation. Very far from *furniſhing Arguments* to juſtify the Proceedings of the *Spaniards* againſt us, They, and They alone, were deſirous and even preſſing that the *Spaniards* might be obliged by *Force of Arms* (the only Way, which could then be taken) to acknowledge the Injuſtice of their Proceedings; to make ample and certain Reparation; and to ſue for *Peace*.

The Publick knows extreamly well, if *this Writer* does not, how to diſtinguiſh between thoſe Advantages, which the Blunders of one Miniſtry may give to another in *Negotiation*, and thoſe juſt Reaſons, for which alone it is lawful for one Nation to commence a *War* with another.

Again; is it poſſible *this Author* could hope to perſuade Mankind, without the leaſt colour of Proof, that Thoſe, who write againſt him, *omitted no Arguments, which might provoke, or encourage the King of* Pruſſia *to a Rupture?* This he charges directly and poſitively upon them, as well as ſuggeſting to the King's Allies, *that they were not obliged to take part in this Quarrel, nor were at all concerned in the Conſequences of it.*

As provoking as this Charge is, it is at the same time so silly, and in the Nature of Things so void of the faintest Probability, that I should ask the Reader's Pardon for dwelling in the least upon it, if it did not give me an Occasion to take Notice of something else, which cannot be inculcated too often.

I know of no Man among *this Author's Adversaries*, (that is, the *Publick*) who gives himself any Concern about these *northern Quarrels*; except That, which arises from an Apprehension that *Great Britain* may be concerned in them, by Virtue of some of those *innumerable Treaties* and *Guaranties*, into which we have enter'd within a few Years; or by some new Device of those *profound Statesmen*, who have been the principal Authors of these Engagements. Far from apprehending *that they should be driven from the Congress* at Soissons; *far from resolving to take Refuge in That at* Brunswick; I dare assure this *Observator*, that the Publick knew well enough in whose Closet the Scene of Negotiation was laid, and never expected that any Thing, which deserved Attention, would be transacted at *Soissons*. I dare likewise assure him that the same *Publick* is as little *alerte* (to use his own Words) about what passes at *Brunswick*; where nothing perhaps may be done, and where most certainly nothing ought to come under Debate, which hath any Relation to *Great Britain*; so false is it that any Persons here have encouraged *foreign Powers to invade his Majesty's* German *Dominions*, *or have excited the neighbouring Princes to oppress a People*, *merely because they acknowledge the same Sovereign that we do*. Such a Design would be so abominably flagitious, that I should suspect no Man to be capable of forming it, if I did not meet in *this Writer* with one, who is capable of supposing it, and of a Crime, almost as great as the Design itself; That of charging it on *innocent Men*.

But

But I can readily agree that the *Publick* may have been told, and that the *Publick* may think (and both ſurely with the ſtrongeſt Reaſon imaginable) that nothing could be more melancholy than to ſee a *new War* break out, or to be brought even into Danger of it, upon *ſuch Motives* as have appeared to make the King of *Pruſſia* aſſemble his Army laſt Year, and to continue his Preparations ſtill; and ſuch as gave our Monarch ſo glorious an Opportunity of ſhewing his own *perſonal Reſolution*. I can agree that the ſame Perſons may be apt to think and call it an inſufferable Grievance, if *Great Britain* is engaged in ſuch a Quarrel; and if thoſe Swords, which reſted peaceably in their Scabbards, whilſt our Merchants were plundered, and our Nation inſulted by the *Spaniards*, ſhould be drawn for the Sake of a few Cartloads of *Hay*, or for ſome *irregular Practices in liſting, or detaining a a few ſorry Peaſants*. Nay, I can agree that This will be thought and called a Grievance, even if more important, but hitherto unavowed Motives, ſuch as Family Diſputes about *Wills* and *Legacies*, or Electoral Diſputes about the Execution of *Imperial Commiſſions*, ſhall hereafter appear to have been the real Motives of ſuch a Quarrel; and when I have agreed all This, which is all that can be agreed with a due Regard to Truth, let our ſmart *Obſervator* make his moſt of it.

The People of *Hanover* are our Friends. They are *Proteſtants*. They are Subjects of the ſame Prince. In all theſe Reſpects, far from having that ignoble and wicked Sentiment of *repining at their Quiet*, we ought to wiſh for their Proſperity; but then they can have no particular Title, in the *laſt* of theſe Reſpects, to claim our *Succour* and *Defence*, even when they are actually invaded; much leſs to expect that we ſhould maintain a *ſtanding Army* in *Germany* for their Security.

We know very well in what *Way of Thinking the laſt, as well as the preſent Parliament, have declared themſelves to be upon this Subject*; and the Engagement to *ſtand by and ſupport* his late Majeſty *againſt all Inſults and Attacks that any Prince or Power, in Reſentment of the juſt Meaſures, which his Majeſty hath ſo wiſely taken, ſhall make on any of his Majeſty's Territories or Dominions, though not belonging to the Crown of* Great Britain; I ſay, *this Engagement* ſpeaks their Senſe in very intelligible Terms; but muſt every Quarrel, which ariſes in *Germany*, be out of Hatred to the *Hanover Treaty?* Can ſuch Motives and Occaſions of a War, as I have mentioned above, be ſaid to ariſe from a Reſentment of the Meaſures taken at that time by his late Majeſty, or to be included within *this Engagement?* If they are ſaid to be ſo, and if This be once pronounced by that *Voice of Parliament*, which muſt determine us all, it will certainly be apprehended to follow, that there never can happen any Diſturbance in *lower Saxony*, by which we muſt not be alarm'd; nor any War there, in which we muſt not be engag'd. I leave it to the World to judge, if That ever comes to be our Caſe, what Advantage we may expect to reap from the Situation of our Country, as an Iſland, or from the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment of our Government.

In the mean time, let us hope for better Things, and look on every Man, who labours, (however artfully and inſenſibly) to introduce the Notion, that we are under any other Obligations of protecting his Majeſty's *German Dominions*, than we are under of protecting any other State, (I mean Obligations of *general Intereſt*, and *particular Compact*) as a Man, who betrays one of the moſt eſſential Rights of the *Britiſh* Nation, and which we hold by the ſame Tenure as his Majeſty holds his Crown; the ſame Act of Parliament, which eſtabliſhed the Succeſſion in the *Houſe of Hanover*, having enacted *that in Caſe the Crown and Im-*

Imperial Dignity of this Realm ſhall hereafter come to any Perſon, not being a Native of this Kingdom of England, *this Nation ſhall not be obliged to engage in any War, for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories, which do not belong to the Crown of* England, *without the Conſent of Parliament.*

Since *this Writer* could not hope to impoſe on the *Publick*, in the Points I have mentioned, it is vain to gueſs for *whom* theſe Parts of his elaborate Work were deſigned.

Shall we ſay, that he meant nothing more than to indulge himſelf in a Fit of *Railing?* Or ſhall we refine enough to imagine that he might think it requiſite to ſet ſome glaring Examples of Conſtructions by *Innuendo*, and to renew, if poſſible, the Method of condemning Men, not for *what they write*, but for what others affirm that they *meant to write?* He hoped, perhaps, to eſtabliſh that ſcandalous Practice, for ſuch it is, of accuſing Thoſe, who are Enemies to *Miniſters*, as Enemies to the *Crown*; and of repreſenting all Oppoſition to *their Meaſures*, as an Oppoſition to the *Meaſures of the King*; than which there cannot be, at all times, a greater Injuſtice to the *Subjects*; nor, for the moſt Part, a more inſolent Reflection on *Majeſty*. It would not be ſtrange, if he flatter'd himſelf that he might ſucceed in theſe, and ſome other noble Deſigns of the ſame kind. Could he do ſo, he would carry a great Point indeed. Such Expedients would anſwer all the Ends of a *legal Reſtraint on the Liberty of the Preſs*; that favourite Project, which hath been ſo much laboured, both laſt Year and this, in *Private*; which ſeems, next to a *Bill of Indemnity*, the beſt Security for *himſelf* and *his Family*; and which he may not think it adviſable yet a while to propoſe in *Publick*.

But whatever his *Views* may be, let us proceed in our Remarks on his *Obſervations*.

It is not worth while to take much Notice of what he ſays concerning the Communication of the Contents

tents of the *Treaty* of *Seville* to the *Directors* of the *South-Sea Company*, before the reſt of the Nation. We ſhall be able to judge whether *theſe Perſons* ſhewed themſelves *better Courtiers*, or *better Merchants*, in the Approbation, which they gave, by the Time we have gone through the Task we have ſet our ſelves.

I haſten to the *great Variation* made by the ninth and following Articles of *this Treaty*, from what was ſettled by the *Quadruple Allyance*; over all which he hath thrown the thinneſt Veil, that was ever wrought in any miniſterial Loom. A bare Expoſition of ſome few Facts will ſuffice to ſet the whole Merits of the Cauſe in a very clear Light; and Theſe ſhall be ſuch Facts as it was unpardonable in him not to know, or knowing to conceal; ſo that he hath but a bad Choice left him to make between *Ignorance* and *Unfairneſs*.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the Faults, which he inſinuates may be juſtly found with the *Quadruple Allyance*, more than This; that it little becomes *Him* to find fault with *any Treaty*; and that the *Quadruple Allyance* will have very different Faces, when it appears by *itſelf*, and when it is conſidered as a Conſequence of the 2d *Article* of the *Treaty* between his *late Majeſty* and the *Emperor*, of the 25th of *May*, 1716; to which *Treaty*, I believe, he will find the Subſcriptions of ſome of his *Acquaintance*. But let This be paſſed over for the preſent.

In the 5th *Article* of the *Quadruple Allyance*, *Great Britain* and *France* took upon them to declare, in Conjunction with the Emperor, *that the* States, *or* Dutchies *poſſeſſed at preſent by the great Duke of* Tuſcany, *and by the Duke of* Parma *and* Placentia, *ſhould be acknowledged for the future, and to all Perpetuity, by the contracting Parties, to be maſculine Fiefs of the* Empire. It was neceſſary to aſſume this Right, in order to diſpoſe of them afterwards. How juſt, or how politick This might be, it is no preſent Buſineſs of mine to enquire.

The

The *Article* goes on, and the *Emperor* promiſes, as Head of the *Empire*, that when the Succeſſion to the ſaid Dutchies ſhall be open, for want of Heirs Male of the Families of *Medicis* and *Farneſe*, the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos* ſhall take Place, and the Entail there ſpecified ſhall commence. After This, ſeveral Stipulations follow, which are plainly directed more, if poſſible, to ſecure the Rights of the *Emperor* and *Empire*, than the Pretenſions of *Don Carlos*. Among other Conditions, it is not only ſtipulated negatively, that *during the Lives of the preſent Poſſeſſors*, or *their Male Succeſſors*, *neither the Emperor*, *nor the Kings of* France *and* Spain, *nor the Prince deſign'd for this Succeſſion*, *ſhall ever introduce any Soldiers of what Nation ſoever*, *of their own Troops*, *or of others in their Pay*, *into the Countries and Lands of the ſaid Dutchies*, *or eſtabliſh Garriſons in the Towns*, *Ports*, *Citadels*, *and Fortreſſes ſituated therein*; but it is likewiſe ſtipulated poſitively, that the *Swiſs Cantons ſhall put ſix thouſand Men in Garriſon at* Leghorn, Porto-ferraio, Parma, *and* Placentia.

For what End now are all theſe Precautions taken? If we will believe the *Obſervator*, they are only taken to ſecure the eventual Succeſſion of *Don Carlos*; and upon this Principle he argues, that ſince the *Emperor* has engaged to make good this Succeſſion, he can have no Reaſon to oppoſe a *Variation*, which tends to render *that Engagement more effectual*, and This *without any Diminution of his Dignity*, *Rights*, *or Poſſeſſions*. But here lies the Fallacy. They are not taken only to ſecure the eventual Succeſſion of *Don Carlos*; but they are taken as well to ſecure *la feodalité etablie ſur les dites Etats en faveur de* l'Empereur *&* *de* l'Empire; that is, *the Rights of Sovereignty eſtabliſh'd in the* Emperor *and* Empire *over theſe States*, *as over the Fiefs of the* Empire. *Spaniſh* Troops, no doubt, are very proper to *one* of theſe Purpoſes; and *Imperial* Troops would be juſt as proper to the *other*; but *neither* of them

them can be said to be proper for *both*; and therefore it was provided, that *neither* of them should be trusted to garrison the Places above-mentioned, but that *neutral Troops* should be employ'd; against whom no Party could object.

In Pursuance of his Engagements, taken in the *Quadruple Allyance*, the *Emperor* having obtained the Consent of the *Empire*, grants the *expectative Letters* of the eventual Investiture in Favour of *Don Carlos*. But how does he grant them? Absolutely? By no means. He grants them in Conformity to the whole fifth Article of the *Quadruple Allyance*, and *not otherwise*; *in conformitate prædictorum integri Articuli quinti, & non aliter*. He makes the Observation of this whole fifth Article a Condition, *sine qua non*, and declares that if it be not observed, neither *He* nor the *Empire* will, or can be bound, *ad permittendam nominatorum Ducatuum & Statuum possessionem teneri, nec velle nec posse*.

In this Manner were the Rights of the *Emperor* and *Empire*, and the Succession of *Don Carlos* settled and confirmed. Upon this Foot they have remained ever since; and whatever Desire the Court of *Spain* may have had to make Alterations in this Establishment, yet we may see that the Court of *Vienna* hath been determined to admit of none. But I am justified in saying, that what the *Spaniards* could not obtain of the *Emperor* (even at a Time when they made with him an Allyance he had so much Reason to be fond of making with them) they have obtained of *Us* and *France*, without the Consent of the *Emperor* and *Empire*. By the Plenitude of our Power, we erected *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* into *Imperial Fiefs*. I say we *erected*; because many strong, and perhaps some unanswerable Reasons are urged to shew, that they are not *such* in themselves. Now we have, by the same Plenitude of Power, given the whole Security, and a kind of Independency to the *Vassal*, and taken away from the

the *Lord* the Advantage of that Expedient, which effectually provided for the Performance of the Conditions he had exacted, without putting it in his Power to evade the Engagements he had taken.

Will not the Queſtion turn very ſtrong againſt *Thoſe*, who ask why the *Emperor* ſhould take Offence at this *Variation*, if he intended to make effectual his Engagement in Favour of *Don Carlos?* Will it not be asked, why this *Variation* has been made, if nothing more is privately ſtipulated in *Treaties*, or *ſeparate Articles*, than what hath been already agreed to; and if the Court of *Spain* intends to make effectual the Engagements on their Part, and on the Part of the *Infanto?*

To ſay, as the *Obſervator* ſays, that this *Variation cannot juſtify, in Reaſon and good Senſe, his* Imperial Majeſty's *not conſenting to it, unleſs he can ſhew that he may be prejudiced by this Alteration*, is a plain Conceſſion that if his *Imperial Majeſty* can ſhew This, then the *Variation* will juſtify his not conſenting to it. Now this Conceſſion gives up the whole Cauſe; tho' the *dogmatical Gentleman* hath ſo little Knowledge, or Reaſon and good Senſe, that He did not perceive it; for nothing is more obvious than that the *Emperor*, and *Empire* too, may ſhew that They are prejudic'd by the *Alteration*; unleſs We will ſay what I believe no Man in the World (except *this Writer*, and a *near Relation* of his) is capable of ſaying; that when a *mutual Security* is given and accepted by *two Parties*, for making good a Bargain, this Security may be taken from *one* of the Parties againſt his Conſent, and the Benefit of it be wholly applied to the *other*, and yet no Prejudice be done to the *former*.

But, perhaps, to the Senſe of *this Injury* (for ſuch it will be called) the Remembrance of *another* may be added in the Councils of *Vienna*; and the Prejudice done to the Rights of the *Emperor* and *Empire*, by the Treaty of *Seville*, may be aggravated by recalling

the Prejudice done to these Rights, by the same contracting Powers, in a Treaty of *defensive Allyance* made at *Madrid* in 1721. *Great Britain* and *France* were then the *Mediators* between his *Imperial* Majesty and the *Catholick* King. The *Quadruple Allyance* was the Ground-work of the Negotiations of *Cambray*; and yet *these Mediators* privately took Engagements to support the Duke of *Parma*, by granting Him a *particular Protection*; although the Demands of *this Duke* made one of the principal Differences, upon which They were to *mediate*; and altho' the very *first Article* of these Demands declares the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* to hold of the *Pope*, in as express Terms as the *fifth Article* of the *Quadruple Allyance* had declared them to be *masculine Fiefs of the Empire*. This Conduct of ours towards the *Emperor* may very probably be compar'd with That, which We have held towards *France*, without whose Concurrence We would not so much as com[illegible]ue our *Mediation*; though every Man, except the *British Minister* at *Paris*, knew that even *France*, in that critical Conjuncture, could not complain of it, and that We had the fairest Opportunity imaginable opened to us of acting, with Honour and Advantage, the very same Part between *France* and *Spain*, which *France* hath acted, with so much Honour and Advantage, since that Time, between *Spain* and *Us*.

But farther. Besides these Considerations of *Injury*, or *Prejudice*, which I have mention'd, may not the *Imperial Ministers* take *another Alarm*; and may not That determine them, at any Risque, to oppose the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*? We all know how precious the Possessions in *Italy* are to the *Imperialists*; how much the Point, to which They are arrived in that Country, of Dominion, Power, and Influence, hath been always the chief Object of their Policy. One may say securely, that They sacrificed the *common Cause* to this private Principle in 1707. They would

would have done the ſame in any other Campaign; and They ſeem'd to have no other Buſineſs in the War. Now will it be at all ſtrange, if They look on the *Variation* made in the *Quadruple Allyance* as a Meaſure taken to give them a *Rival in that Country*, where They are at preſent indiſputably the *ſuperior Power?* Will not theſe Garriſons of *Spaniards*, pretended to be placed there for the Security of the eventual Succeſſion of *Don Carlos*, make them look on *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Portoferraio*, and *Leghorn*, as ſo many Places of Arms, put into the Hands of an *old Enemy*, an *unfaithful Ally*, and a *certain Rival?* May They not apprehend, that neither Pretences nor Means will be wanting, if the Treaty of *Seville* hath its Effect, to introduce greater Numbers of *Spaniſh*, and even *French* Troops into the Heart of *Italy*, and to ſerve the *Emperor*, as *Ferdinand the catholick* ſerved *Lewis* the *twelfth*, in Conſequence of the ſilly *Partition*, to which the *latter* conſented?

Theſe Things are all ſo obvious, that it will be ridiculous to ſay (and yet very probably it will be ſaid) that the bare Mention of them is a Suggeſtion, by which the *Councils at* Vienna *may be influenc'd.* But to proceed, without any Regard to ſo ſtupid a Reflection; ſuppoſe theſe Councils ſhould determine to oppoſe the Introduction of the *Spaniſh* Garriſons, which are to preſerve *the immediate Succeſſion of* Don Carlos; (a very ſuſpicious Term, by the Way, when applied to a Succeſſion hitherto called *eventual*, and certainly in its Nature *contingent*) what a *ſolid*, *laſting Peace* will our *Miniſters* then have obtain'd for us? If the *Emperor* be as powerful in *Italy*, as the Pamphlet I am anſwering repreſents him to be, certain it is that we ſhall be plunged into the greateſt Difficulties. What a *Scene* have we gone through? What a *Concluſion* of it are we likely to make? About twelve Years ago, we broke with *Spain*, in Favour of the *Emperor*. About

four Years ago, we broke with the *Emperor* and *Spain* both. Now we are in Danger of breaking with the *Emperor*, in Favour of *Spain*.

Thus are the Changes in Politicks perpetually rung by *Men*, who aſſure us that they are extreamly *wiſe*, and that their Meaſures are extreamly *ſteady*.

I ſaid juſt now that in the Caſe of a Breach with the *Emperor*, in Conſequence of the *Treaty of* Seville, *we ſhall be plunged into the greateſt Difficulties*. I think it neceſſary to explain my Meaning, that it may the better appear whether *any Miniſter would have deſerved the ſevereſt Puniſhment, who ſhould have adviſed the King to have deferred, for one Month only, the Accommodation of our Differences with the Court of* Spain, *for the ſake of this Alteration*.

The Author of the *ſhort View of the State of Affairs* obſerves extreamly well, that *though a* Peace *with* Spain *may be more advantageous to a trading Nation than a* Peace *with the* Emperor; *yet a* War *with the* Emperor *would be, for the ſame Reaſon, more burthenſome and impracticable to a* maritime Power, *than a* War *with* Spain. Allow me to puſh the *latter Part* of this Obſervation a little farther.

Such a *War* as we have lately had with *Spain*, in which all the Blows were *received* and none *given*; in which the Inſtructions and Practice, on *one ſide*, were to attack, kill, deſtroy, plunder; and, on the *other*, to perſuade, to expoſtulate, to bear (ſuch a *War*, as I defy this *Obſervator*, with the Aſſiſtance of all his *learned Friends*, to find an Example of in the whole Extent of antient and modern Hiſtory) is to be forgot, if poſſible, and ſurely not to be ſuppoſed. But ſuch a *War*, as we are able to make on *Spain*, whenever we pleaſe to employ our natural, our maritime Force, can neither be burthenſome nor difficult. It will always be in our Power to make the Enemy do more than pay the *Charges* of it; to revenge our *Wrongs*, and

and to assert our *Rights*. But a *War* with the *Emperor*, in our present Circumstances, must be a dreadful Object in the sight of every Man, who carries his Views beyond the mean and wicked Point of serving a *present Turn*; for, *first*,

In the *former Case*, we should employ our *natural Strength*, and our *natural born Subjects*. The very Progress of the War would increase our own Strength, and the Expences of it would enrich our own People. Whereas, in the *latter Case*, we must employ an *unnatural Strength*, and *foreign Troops*. We must make a War on the Continent; in which our maritime Force will remain unexerted, and the Expences of which will be swallow'd up in that *bottomless Gulph*, where we have already thrown so immense a Treasure. *Secondly*;

In the *former Case*, we should have Reason to hope for great Advantages *to our selves*, and no Reason to apprehend the Success of *our Allies*. Whereas, in the *latter Case*, if any Advantages are gain'd, they must be gain'd to *others*; none can possibly accrue to *Us*; and if the Success of the *French* against the *Emperor* should be considerable, as it would be of Course, (especially when we opened their Way into the very Heart of *Germany*) we must be reduced to see the Labour of so many Years destroyed, so many Millions spent in vain, and have nothing left but the distant Hopes of another *Marlborough* and another *Hockstadt*.

If the whole Weight of national Vengeance is ever to fall, it ought surely to crush *Those*, who precipitate their Country, by a long Series of Blunders and Mistakes, into such a terrible *Dilemma*, that we cannot observe our *Treaties*, without being exposed to fight against our *general Interests*, and without finding, whenever we return to them, that the *Weakness of our Allies*, and the *Strength of our Enemies* are the Works of our *own Hands*.

But the *Obſervator* will ſay, perhaps, (or ſome hireling Scribbler will ſay for him) that we are brought into no Danger of a War with the *Emperor*; that our *wiſe Miniſters* have a Reſerve ſtill in their Power, and can make a *Peace* with his *Imperial* Majeſty, whenever they pleaſe; that to effect it, nothing more will be neceſſary than to give our *Guaranty* to the Diſpoſition, whatever it be, which his *Imperial Majeſty* hath made, or ſhall make, of the *Auſtrian Dominions*.

Such an *Expedient* as This would, I doubt not, be ſoon paſſed (if the immediate Danger of a *War* preſſed upon us) by *Thoſe*, who think of nothing more than how to get over, by *annual Expedients*, the *annual Difficulties* they bring themſelves under, without any Regard to the continual Charge and frequent Loſſes, which the Nation is obliged to ſupport, by their Management; or to the dangerous Conſequences of their Meaſures. But Men, who think on wiſer and honeſter Principles, would look on ſuch a *Guaranty* as a Method of Cure very little preferable to the Diſeaſe it ſelf.

His *Imperial Majeſty* hath indeed given his *Guaranty* to the Succeſſion of our Crown, eſtabliſhed in the preſent royal Family; but there would be no Parity between ſuch a *Guaranty* as *This*, and the *Guaranty* of a *Succeſſion*, the Nature of which may be known by the *pragmatical Sanctions*; but the Deſcent of which into any *particular Family* cannot be foreſeen.

Who could anſwer, in this Caſe, that we might not give our *Guaranty* even to the aggrandizing of *Don Carlos*, which is an Event *our Politicians* have expreſſed their Apprehenſions of in the ſtrongeſt Terms; although they ſeem at preſent a little better reconciled to it?

Who could foreſee the numberleſs Miſchiefs, of which ſuch a Diſpoſition of the *Auſtrian* Dominions might

might be productive, if his *Imperial* Majesty should die without *Issue Male?* What Clashing of Interests might there not be, even in the *Imperial Family*, as well as in every Part of the *Empire?* To get clear of a War with *Spain*, we expose our selves to a War, which may commence in *Italy*, and spread much farther. By the *Expedient*, now supposed, we might get clear of an immediate War in *Italy*; but we should stand in Danger of being involved, a little sooner, or a little later, in a War, which may distract *Germany* as much, and last as long as That of 1618, and kindle its Fires over all *Europe*.

But that we may shew all the Complaisance possible to the *Observator* and his *Associates*, in our Examination of the Consequences of their boasted *Treaty*; let us allow him to say, in this Case, as he very often does in others, the direct contrary of what has been asserted by him. He talks of the Grandeur of the *Emperor*, and the Strength of the *Imperial* Forces in *Italy*. Let us take the *contrary* of This for granted. Let us suppose the Introduction and Establishment of the *Spaniards* in *Italy* to be made with so superior a Power, that the *Emperor* and *Princes* concerned are forced to submit upon *our Terms*, instead of making their *own*; will the Difficulties be all removed? Will all the Inconveniencies to *Great Britain*, with which *this Treaty* may be attended, vanish away? They certainly will not. Our Measures are so *wisely* taken, that the easiest and shortest Manner of *effectuating* them is likewise the easiest and shortest Way to render the *little* we have stipulated for our selves precarious.

It has been objected, with good Reason, to the *Quadruple Allyance*, that we made a *Bubble's Bargain*, when we put *Sicily*, and all that the *Emperor* had to expect from our Friendship, into his Hands immediately; although the reciprocal Part, to be perform'd by *Him*, was to be a Work of Time; and al-

though we had not received Satisfaction from him in *ſome Points*, about which we were extreamly ſollicitous.

Now, the *Treaty of Seville* appears to me to make a Bargain of the ſame kind; with ſome Difference however to the Diſadvantage of *This* lately concluded. When we made and executed the *Quadruple Allyance*, we had not received Satisfaction from the *Emperor* about the Inveſtitures of *Bremen* and *Verdhen*, which I preſume are not granted even to this Day; that is, we had not ſecured a *Point*, which has no Regard to our *national Intereſt*; at leaſt, no favourable Regard to it, how much ſoever it may have coſt the Nation. But if we are able, according to the Terms of the *Treaty of* Seville, *to effectuate, without loſs of Time, the introducing of* Spaniſh *Garriſons into* Leghorn, Portoferraio, Parma *and* Placentia, we may chance very ſoon to find the Apprehenſions, *leſt this ſo long look'd for Peace ſhould have left our foreign Acquiſitions in an uncertain and precarious Condition*, better founded than *thoſe Gentlemen* wiſh them to be, whoſe Apprehenſions are the Subject of this *trifling Author's* Ridicule. We may very ſoon find the Reparation promis'd to our *Merchants* evaded, and all our Privileges and Rights of *Commerce* once more violated; that is, we may find that the moſt immediate and eſſential Intereſts of the *Britiſh Nation* are not ſecured by the Terms of the *Treaty*, and are even put into Danger by the *Execution* of it.

We are told, that as the *firſt Article* renews and confirms all former Treaties and Conventions, *in the ſame manner as if they were actually inſerted Word for Word in This; it is evident that we have here a very full Acknowledgment on the Part of* Spain *of our Right to* Gibraltar, *and the Iſland of* Minorca. But it ſeems that This is not all. The Care of our *Miniſters* about this *important Point* hath been ſtill more extenſive and

exact. The *ſecond Article goes ſtill farther, and by it the King of* Spain *himſelf gives his Majeſty his Guaranty for all his Kingdoms, States and Dominions, and conſequently for the Poſſeſſion of theſe very Places.*

There is, in this whole Paragraph, ſuch a Mixture of *Aſſurance, Ignorance,* and *Levity,* as cannot, I think, be match'd in any of the *Writers* even of *that Side.*

Has it not been ſhewn that the Court of *Spain* acquir'd, in 1721, what they call a *Right,* and what we muſt allow to be a *Pretence,* (though we ſhall inſiſt that it is not a *valid one*) to demand the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar* ? Has it not been demonſtrated that this *Pretenſion* is ſupported by one of the *private Treaties* made at *Madrid,* in the ſame Year ; that it is revived even by the *Preliminaries,* and manieſtly included in the Act of the *Pardo,* explanatory of theſe *Preliminaries?* All This has been urged over and over. It has not been anſwer'd; and *this Author* is defied to anſwer it. With what *Face* then (except *his own*) can it be declared *evident* that we have, by the *firſt Article* of the *Treaty of* Seville, *a full Acknowledgment on the Part of* Spain *of our Right to* Gibraltar, *and the Iſland of* Minorca ? Let him learn, that we have not *this full Acknowledgement of our Right,* for the very Reaſon he gives to prove that we have it ; *becauſe all former Treaties and Conventions are renewed and confirmed.*

When ſubſequent Treaties and Conventions derogate, in any Reſpect, from Thoſe, which preceeded them, and they are *all renew'd* and *confirm'd alike,* He might, one would imagine, perceive that they muſt *explain one another* ; and that the *former Treaties* and *Conventions* are renew'd and confirm'd, ſubject to the *Alterations* made in them, or to the *Derogations* made from them by the *latter,* and not otherwiſe.

It

It is evident therefore that Room is ſtill left to the *Spaniards*, at a proper Time and Place, to chicane with us again upon our *Right* to theſe *foreign Acquiſitions*.

Nor will the *Article of Guaranty* be ſufficient to redreſs this Matter; becauſe it is given in Purſuance of the *Treaties*, and the whole Obligation is limited *according to the Treaties*; from whence it follows that the *Spaniards* may hereafter (and I doubt much they will) contend that though we have the *Poſſeſſion* ſtill, we have not ſtill the *Right* to theſe Places, which we acquired by the *Treaty* of *Utrecht*; that therefore the *Guaranty*, given by the *Treaty of Seville*, cannot be conſtrued to extend to the *Right*, and that it does not ſo much as mention the *Poſſeſſion*.

The *Obſervator* ſuppoſes our *Poſſeſſion* guaranty'd, and affirms it *ſecured beyond all Poſſibility of Doubt, or Cavil*. How reaſonably, or ingenuouſly, let any indifferent Perſon judge.

In the *perpetual Guaranty* given to *Don Carlos* and his *Succeſſors*, by the *twelfth Article* of this *Treaty*, not only the *Right*, but the *Poſſeſſion*, and even the *quiet Poſſeſſion* are expreſly mention'd. In the Treaty of *Hanover* the *Guaranty* is given, not *in general*, as in *this Treaty*, but for all *Dominions, Countries and Towns, which each of the Allies ſhall be in the actual* Poſſeſſion *of, at the Time of the ſigning the Allyance*. Had the *ſame Terms* been made Uſe of in the *ſecond Article* of the *Treaty* of *Seville*, the King of *Spain* had certainly guaranty'd to us both *Gibraltar* and the Iſland of *Minorca*, even without naming them; but *theſe Terms* are not uſed in *that Article*. If they were not inſiſted upon, how will our *Miniſters* juſtify their Neglect? If they were inſiſted upon, how will our *Miniſters* juſtify the *Cordiality* and *Sincerity* of the *Spaniſh Court*; or cure the Apprehenſions entertained in *Britain*?

There

There is one Argument more, which I think unanſwerable to *this Writer*, and muſt put the Affair of *Gibraltar beyond all Poſſibility of Doubt or Cavil*, with *Him* at leaſt. He will be ready enough, I dare ſay, to acknowledge the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* to be deficient in any Particular; and I muſt agree with him that it is really ſo, in not ſtipulating for a proper Diſtrict of Ground round about *Gibraltar*, beyond the Reach of Cannon Shot, as is uſually granted to *Garriſon Towns*. By this Defect the *Spaniards* claim all the *Land* without the Town, up to the very Walls of it; as appeared by the Anſwer of the *Conde de las Torres* to our *Governor*, when he made the firſt Approaches to it; and perhaps the Words *Terres de leur Obeiſance*, in the *Article* of *Guaranty*, (as *extenſive* as He boaſts them to be) may be conſtrued, by the *Spaniards*, ſo as not to include, or comprehend the Town and Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*. It is therefore ſomewhat ſurprizing that ſo *wiſe a Miniſter* ſhould found the Security of *that Place* on a *Treaty*, to which he hath made ſo many Objections, and to which all the World muſt allow *this Objection* to be juſt. One would think that when he was apprized of *this Omiſſion*, by the *Siege* of that Place, he would have ſupplied it in the *late Treaty*, and inſiſted to have as much Ground granted, as is uſual to other *Garriſon Towns*; ſince he could not plead *Inadvertency* in his Excuſe, as the *Negotiators* of the *Utrecht Treaty* perhaps might; and yet *This*, we ſee, he has not done, however reaſonable and neceſſary; nay, I have been told it was own'd publickly, by *this Writer* himſelf, that if we had preſumed ſo much as to mention any Thing, relating to *Gibraltar*, it would have been ſufficient to have induced the *Spaniards* to *break off all farther Negotiations*; from whence we may certainly conclude, that the *Spaniards*, according to their Judgment and Conſtruction of the *Treaty*, have effectually preſerved their *Pretenſions to that Fortreſs*.

I hope it has hitherto appear'd that the *Observator* is but a weak Defender of a weak Cause; and I believe the same will appear in our Examination of the next Article, which relates to the Satisfaction our *Merchants* are to expect, as to their *past Losses* and their *future Security*.

That This has been sufficiently provided for, he *labours to prove*. The Term is *his own*; and I cannot but observe upon it, how strange an Idea he gives us of *this Treaty*, when he *labours to prove* That, which if it *wants to be proved*, the Treaty can be good for nothing; but he repeats, comments and declaims. *Proving* is not his Talent.

I shall not descend, at present, into all our mercantile Interests with *Spain*; which deserve, and, I doubt not, will have a Consideration, suitable to the Importance of them to a Nation, whose Life is *Commerce*, and whose *Merchants* may justly be called the *nursing Fathers* of it.

I shall not detain the Reader, by taking Notice of some very odd and very suspicious Characters, which appear in divers parts of *this Treaty*; such as, for Instance, in the *first separate Article*; where, because *Commerce* is to be establish'd on the Foot of Treaties and Conventions antecedent to the Year 1725, an *express Declaration* is, *for the greater Exactness*, made of the *Treaties comprehended under that general Denomination*; where, amongst others, the *Treaty of Utrecht* is mention'd, and the *Treaty* of 1667, comprised in it; and yet the *Treaty* of 1670 is not mention'd, although it is recall'd and confirm'd by the *Treaty of Utrecht*; and although it contains the first and principal Regulations about the *West-India-Trade*, made by the Court of *Spain*.

I shall not I say dwell, at present, on these and many such Points; but shall take a shorter Way with our *Observator*, and endeavour to *confute* him, by *admitting*

admitting almoſt all he ſays, where he ſtates the Purport of the ſeveral Articles relative to *Trade* and to the Satisfaction ſtipulated to our *Merchants*.

Suppoſing the Whole therefore to ſtand, even according to his own Repreſentation, his Harangue to the *Merchants* will amount to no more than This. " *Gentlemen*, after having been obliged to acknowledge that your *Ships* and *Effects* have been ſeized, " detained and even confiſcated by the *Spaniards*, in " a moſt unuſual and unjuſtifiable Manner; I preſent " you with the common Proviſions, which are made " in *ordinary Caſes*, for your Satisfaction, as to what " is paſſed, in this very *extraordinary Caſe*. After " having complain'd of the Violation of all your " Privileges and Rights of *Commerce*, committed by " the *Spaniards*, without any Regard to the moſt " *ſolemn Treaties* in Force between the two Nations, I " offer you, for your *future Security*, the very *ſame Security*, which hath appeared already to be *ineffectual*; " that is, the Renewal and Confirmation of the very " *ſame Treaties*. After having, from a *pacifick Diſpoſition*, and for Fear of widening the Breach, exaſperating the *Spaniards*, and diſobliging the *French*, " ſuffered you to be inſulted, taken and plundered by " the *former*, during *four Years*, I have procured for " you much the *ſame Terms*, as might have been " procured immediately after the Concluſion of the " *Hanover Allyance*, and before you had ſuffered the " Hardſhips and Loſſes, to which you have been ſince " expoſed. In ſhort, after having felt very ſeverely " the great Miſchiefs, to which we are expoſed, by " having one valuable Branch of our *Commerce* at the " Mercy of the *Spaniards*, I deſire your Approbation " of a *Treaty*, which will put our *Italian* Trade into " a Dependance on them likewiſe." If This appears *ludicrous*, it is no Fault of mine. It is founded on *Truth*, and on *Facts* of the moſt publick Notoriety.

riety. I may safely appeal to any indifferent Man, whether all, that is here said, cannot be said justly on the *Treaty of Seville*, and whether more than This can be said with Justice on the same Foundation.

But now the *Observator* will alledge, that He must confess Himself *ignorant* and therefore may, out of his singular Modesty, *challenge the most clear-sighted* of his Adversaries *to shew what other Method could possibly have been used*, in any particular Instance; or how we could, upon the whole, have obtained more secure and advantageous Conditions. To which I shall reply, with as much Deference as his profound Politicks deserve; first in *general*,

That if it be necessary to constitute a *good Treaty of Peace*, that the *Conditions* of it be proportioned to the *Motives*, whether of *Interest* or *Honour*, which occasion'd the *War*; it is no less necessary, in order to obtain such a *Peace*, that the Efforts made in a *War* be proportioned to the Nature of it; that *vigorous Resolutions* be taken, and that a *speedy Execution* of them do constantly follow. This was urged from the *Throne*, at the Time of our Rupture with *Spain*; and all the *Motives*, which could incite or provoke, were pressed upon us. They had their *Effect in Part* The Parliament gave all the *Supplies*, which were asked, and as ample a Latitude as any *Ministers* could desire to exert themselves in. *Vigorous Resolutions* were taken; but it must be own'd that the *other Part of the Effect*, which might have been expected from such a Beginning, did not follow.

As soon as the *Treaties* were made, the *Accessions* procured, and the *Army* provided, at the Expence of *Britain*, which were necessary for defending *lower Saxony*, we seem'd to have no more to do in the *War*; and the *Spaniards* carried it on against us with Impunity. If this *new Method* of making War laid us under some Disadvantage in *treating a Peace*;

it

if we have, for this Reaſon, been able to procure from the *Spaniards* no Reparation for the Menaces and Inſults offer'd to the *Crown* and *Nation*; and if, inſtead of obliging *Thoſe*, who did the *Injury*, to repair it, we have been content that they ſhould renew *Promiſes*, which they have often made, and ſeldom kept; all I need to ſay in Anſwer is This; that the *ſame Perſons*, who made this *honourable War*, made this *ſolid and laſting Peace*. Neither do I believe that Men, who have failed to obtain a *good End*, were ever admitted to excuſe themſelves by pleading that they had not taken *proper Means*.

But *ſecondly*, to be more particular in anſwering this Queſtion, *what other Method could be taken?* There is no Doubt that our *foreign Acquiſitions*, *Gibraltar* and the Iſland of *Minorca*, would have been more effectually ſecured to us, if they had been *ſpecifically* mention'd; if all Claim to them had been *renounced in expreſs Terms* by *Spain*; and if they had been named in the *Guaranty* given to his Majeſty for all his *Kingdoms*, *States* and *Dominions*. It were eaſy to ſhew, by many Examples, that This hath been the Practice, whenever any *favourite Intereſt* hath been concerned. But I ſhall content myſelf to eſtabliſh this Truth, without going any farther than the Treaty of *Seville* itſelf for my Authority. The *ſecond ſeparate Article* ſtipulates that *all the Ships*, *Merchandize* and *Effects*, there deſcribed, ſhall be immediately reſtored. The *Prince Frederick* and her Cargo are manifeſtly comprehended in that Deſcription. No Man will deny it; and yet our *Miniſters* were ſo ſcrupulouſly obſervant of the Rule I lay down, that, in this Caſe, they took Care to add to the general Stipulation theſe Words, *and namely the Prince Frederick and her Cargo*. How it happened that They had not the ſame ſcrupulous Regard for our *foreign Acquiſitions*, let the *Obſervator* declare. *This Method* of ſecuring them, would have been *effectual*, and liable to no Objection from *Spain*,

if that Court designs they should be *effectually secured to us*. But the Neglect of *this Method* may tempt the *Spaniards* to persist, on future Occasions, in demanding what we appear, perhaps, in their Eyes, not a little remiss in securing. Nay, this Neglect may likewise give some Countenance to those *scandalous Reports*, which are not raised here, but which transpire from abroad, that *private Engagements* are enter'd into for restoring *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca* to the *Spaniards* at the End of *three Years*.

As *another Method* might have been found than *That*, which hath been taken, for securing our *foreign Acquisitions*; so will it not be hard to shew the *Observator*, in Contempt of his *Defiances* and *Challenges*, that a *more effectual Method might possibly have been used* in Favour of our *Merchants* than That, which hath been followed. Let him take the trouble of comparing the Treaty of the 5th of *April* 1654 between *Cromwel* and the *States General* with the *Treaty* of *Seville*. By the *former*, the *Ships* and *Effects* of the *English*, or the Value of them, were to be restored within *fourteen Days* after the Arrival of the *Owners*, or their *Agents*, at the Places where the Ships and Effects had been seized and detained. *Arbitrators*, or *Commissaries*, were indeed to examine and determine upon the several Demands; but then they were to meet at *Goldsmith's-Hall* in *London*, by the 27th of *June* following. They were to be all sworn in the high Court of *Admiralty*, and unless they agreed before the 1st of *August*, they were to be shut up without *Fire*, *Candle*, *Victuals*, or *Drink*, till they did agree. Their Decisions were to be *final*. The Money was to be paid in *twenty-five Days* after the Adjudication, and Security to be given beforehand, in *London*, for the *Payment*. *Commissaries* were likewise appointed, by *this Treaty*, to examine Complaints made by the *Merchants*, on both Sides, of mutual Injuries, suffered in all Parts of the World, from the Year 1611 to the Year 1652. This was a

much larger Field ſurely than That, which is opened to the *Commiſſaries*, appointed to meet at the Court of *Spain*, by the *Treaty of Seville*; and yet, by *Cromwel's Treaty*, theſe *Commiſſaries* were to finiſh in *three Months*, inſtead of ſo many *Years*; and if they did not conclude in that time, a *neutral Power*, the *Swiſs Cantons*, was to determine finally in *ſix Months more*.

When the *Obſervator* hath made this Compariſon, let him compare the great maritime Power of the *Dutch*, at that Time, with the contemptible naval Force of the *Spaniards*, in this Age. Let him compare *Cromwel's* Circumſtances, and his Fleets with *Ours*. In ſhort, let him compare the Reaſons *Cromwel* had to complain of the *Dutch* with Thoſe, which we have founded ſo high againſt the *Spaniards*. When theſe Compariſons are once made, I doubt the *Obſervator* will have no Reaſon to give, which He will be willing to avow, why there is ſo great a Difference between the *Manner*, in which this Nation *treated*, and the *Satisfaction* ſhe obtained, in *former Times*; and the *Manner*, in which ſhe hath ſubmitted to *treat*, and the *Satisfaction* ſhe hath accepted, upon the *preſent Occaſion*.

I thought to have taken ſome Notice of what he ſays concerning the *Claim to a Recompence*, which is preſerved to the *Spaniards*, for the Ships taken from them in 1718. But, on a Review of that Paragraph, I find it ſo frivolous, and even ſo little plauſible, that I cannot reſolve to lengthen this Examination, which is too long already, by ſhewing that if the *Claim*, which the *Spaniards* had, by Virtue of the *Treaty* of 1721, is now wholly extinguiſhed, becauſe *it was the Fault of the* Spaniards *only that thoſe Ships were not put into their Poſſeſſion*; This would have been an extream good Reaſon for refuſing to *revive* and *countenance* their Claim; but is a very poor One for conſenting to *do both*.

I think it proper, for certain Reaſons, to conclude with telling the *Author* of the *Obſervations*, that as He hath often found me, and I hope not without Effect, in his Way; ſo he may depend on receiving the ſame good Offices from me, till he hath received the *juſt Reward*, which is due to Him from the *Publick*; but that I never deal in *Billingſgate*, *Lampoons*, or *Libels*; and that, whenever I am accuſed of doing ſo, I am accuſed falſely.

C.



POEMS

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN We first undertook this Edition of the *Craftsman*, We did not design to insert any of the Verses, which had been occasionally publish'd in it, except Those, which were strictly *political*; but We have been since advis'd to print some others, which may serve to diversify the Work, and having Room in this Place, We have taken that Advice.

To His Excellency

Philip Earl of *Chesterfield*,

ON HIS

Extraordinary Embassy *to* Holland.

Printed in the Year 1727.

CHESTERFIELD, with early Laurels crown'd,
For poignant Wit and nervous Sense renown'd,
Whom all the Powers of Eloquence adorn,
For publick Scenes and great Employments born;
A while indulgent to my Verse attend,
Of every Art the Judge, to every Muse a Friend.

Now for two Years, by wrathful Heaven ordain'd,
Diſcord and Strife thro' half the Globe have reign'd,
As long hath *Britain* mourn'd her wayward Fate,
Of *Europe* labouring to ſupport the Weight,
As long her warlike Fleets have plough'd the Main,
And numerous Armies have been paid in vain;
While o'er the World her boaſted Commerce fails;
His Treaſures ſeized the Bankrupt Merchant wails;
The Looms ſtand ſtill, *Britannia*'s golden Mines,
And ſtarved in Eaſe the Artizan repines;
The various Burthens of the State increaſe,
Thus long prepared for War, nor yet aſſured of Peace.

In this dread Criſis, this Suſpence of Fate,
When every Mail alarms the doubtful State,
When Hopes and Fears our Breaſts alternate move,
Well does our King his wiſe Diſcernment prove,
While to ſuch Hands he delegates his Power,
And deigns that Merit ſhall repine no more.
To recommend thy Name, in ſuch a Reign,
Titles ſeem needleſs, and Diſtinctions vain,
On the ſtrong Baſis of Deſert you ſtand,
Nor owe your Greatneſs to a ſecond Hand;
By no mean Arts, or ſervile Courtſhip riſe,
But Virtue mark't you out to *Brunſwick*'s Eyes;
In Knowledge, Senſe and Honour you confide,
And your high Lineage is your meaneſt Pride.

Already, conſcious of thy ſpreading Fame,
The *Belgian* Powers thy timely Preſence claim,
In this nice Juncture of contending States,
Like *Churchill* once, to proſper their Debates.
Methinks I ſee thee in their Councils join,
Of myſtick Leagues unraveling the Deſign;
In upright Meaſures skill'd, thy generous Heart
Scorns the low Cunning of a Jugler's Art,
By Tricks and Fraud attempting to ſucceed,
Or skinning o'er the Wounds, which ſoon afreſh will bleed.

For

For, if the ſanguine Muſe aright preſage
From thy known Talents, which forerun thy Age,
By prudent Counſels and deliberate Schemes,
(Proving all Ways, and ſhunning all Extremes)
The Broils of *Europe* thou ſhalt ſtill compoſe,
And reconcile to Peace the ſcepter'd Foes,
Avert from *Britain* her projected Fate,
And prove another TEMPLE to the State.

On Thee, my Lord, our quickening Hopes depend,
On Thee our Wiſhes and our Prayers attend;
Go forth, thy Country's Hope, thy Monarch's Boaſt,
And reach, with proſperous Gales, the deſtin'd Coaſt!
Of potent Realms prevent the direful Strife,
And call the withering Olive back to Life,
Reſtore the Peace of every jarring Land,
And fix the Ballance faſt in *Brunſwick*'s Hand.

That work perform'd (a Work of ſo much Art,
That only STANHOPE can ſuſtain the Part!)
Thy native, loud-applauding Shores regain,
And in the *Britiſh* Senate ſhine again,
Again thy Sovereign's Smiles and Counſels ſhare,
By all the Nation bleſs'd, recover'd from Deſpair.

The Pacification.

Nick Dapper, and the great *De—l—ne*,
Againſt whom *Nick* ſo oft has drawn
His hoſtile Pen, one Night laſt Week
Met at the *Mitre*, Joul by Cheek,
Unſought on both Sides was the Meeting,
So there was very little Greeting;
No ſparring Words nor formal Farce,
Your Servant, Sir, or *kiſs my A—ſe*;

But

But down they ſate, drank to the next,
Yet in their Stomachs ſomewhat vext.
Nick view'd the *Doctor* very hard;
The *Doctor* ſcowl'd upon the Bard;
But both the *Poet* and the *Head*
Being, you know, extremely bred,
Scorn'd to diſturb the jovial Table
With their old Piques and College Squabble.
Thus for ſome Hours, with ſilent Grudge,
They ſat Mumchance, as you may judge,
Drank a great deal, and now and then
Popt in a Word with other Men.
At length, St. *Dunſtan*'s Clock ſtruck One,
And all the ſober Cuffs were gone;
The reſt, who were inclined to ſtay,
Call'd for a *Bottle and to pay*;
The *Doctor* and the *Bard* made two,
Who are no *Starters*, you all know.
Good Wine, they ſay, ſharp Quarrels ends,
And of old Foes makes laſting Friends;
Which once, for Inſtance, happen'd here,
As by the Sequel will appear.
They ſoon grew warm and, e'er they parted,
Were very frank and open-hearted,
Talk'd twenty different Matters o'er;
The more they talk'd, agreed the more;
They laugh'd, and intermix'd their Chat
With Puns and Quibbles very pat;
The *Doctor* toaſted Mrs. *W—d*,
And *Nick* another, full as good.
Then quoth the *Poet* to the *Don*,
" How does our Friend, the great *Sir John*?
" For, if I fail not in my Wine,
" He was your Patron, well as mine."
The *Doctor* ſmiled, well pleaſed to rally
The Bites, and Bubbles of the Alley,
Rail'd at *South-Sea*, and *modern Jobbing*,
With ſome broad Hints againſt one ROBIN.

On

On which, ſaid *Nick*, " for eight long Years,
" We've been together by the Ears;
" On both Sides made a great ado;
" You *turn'd me out*; I *libell'd you.*
" For my Part, *Doctor*, I confeſs
" Myſelf in Fault; I can no leſs;
" I was a Fool and ſee my Folly,
" Which makes me wondrous melancholy;
" For rather than have thus been bamm'd
" I wiſh the *Whigs* had all been d———d.
The *Doctor* anſwer'd very mellow,
" Faith, thou'rt an hon—hon—honeſt Fellow!
" How could I uſe thee ſo? ———alas!
" I bluſh to look thee in the Face;
" But 'twas againſt my Will——you know
" How with your Friend, *Nick*, Matters go;
" You underſtand———and ſo I hope———
" I wiſh the Raſcals all a Rope———
" Do, prithee, *Nick!* forgive me, do;
" Behold theſe Tears; ſee how they flow;
" I ask your Pardon and, in ſhort,
" Am very——*hiccup!* ———ſorry for't;
" For rather than have caus'd this Evil,
" I would the *Ch——ch* were at the Devil.
" Here then, quoth *Nick*, our Quarrel ends,
" And from henceforth We two are Friends;
" And curſed be he, whoſe plotting Brain
" Shall ſtrive to make us Foes again.
" Ay, curſed be he, the *Don* reply'd,
" Who ſhall henceforth our Love divide;
" Curſed be the Villain! whether Doctor,
" Or Brother-Head, or Couſin-Proctor,
" Vice-Chancellor or Senior Fellow;
" E'en let them rail, and roar and bellow;
" Of what-e'er Standing or Degree,
" I'll quit them all to tope with Thee;
" For, *entre nous*, thoſe hooded Gentry
" Are ſad dull Rogues, nineteen in twenty,

" Damn'd

" Damn'd, dreaming, empty Skulls! and rather
" Than ſmoke a Pipe with *H—le* or *M———r*,
" I would, dear *Nick*, ——hold! let me think——
" I'd faſt twelve Hours from *Meat* and *Drink*,
" Dear Sir, quoth *Nick*, compoſe your Mind,
" You make me bluſh, you are ſo kind;
" My guilty Works riſe up to Sight;
" How, *Doctor*, ſhall I do you Right?
" My Poems, Pamphlets, Dedications,
" Lewd Tales, and tragical Relations
" From *Grubſtreet*, and the Lord knows whence,
" Each Page that gives the leaſt Offence,
" (Ev'n that unlucky Baſtard TERRY,
" Who with your *Reverence* makes ſo merry,)
" To-morrow ſhall in Flames ariſe,
" For a Burnt-Offering to the Skies.
" What, burn thy Works ſo arch and pretty!
" No, quoth the Doctor, that's a Pity;
" Such Favours how can I acknowledge?——
" Come, *here's Confuſion to the College.*
" But! O dear *Nick*, once more go down,
" And viſit that ungrateful Town;
" For though by an unjuſt Decree,
" (And oh! dire Thought! pronounc'd by me)
" Thou from St. *John*'s art driv'n away,
" Of buzzing, witleſs Drones the Prey,
" At my own Lodgings thou ſhalt lie,
" And all the ſtrutting Sots defy,
" Eat and drink well at *College-Charge*,
" And be as welcome——as King GEORGE.

To a LADY,

Who had YELLOW HAIR.

WHilſt on thy golden Locks I gaze,
And what I like ſincerely praiſe,
Coldly you turn your Head away,
And tax with Flattery all I ſay;
But tho', when preſent, you prevail,
And interrupt my eager Tale,
Yet ſhall the abſent Muſe ſupply
What to my Tongue your Frowns deny.
Let other Damſels, oddly vain,
With Quack-Receipts their Features ſtain,
And, ſtudious of a falſe Renown,
For borrow'd Beauties change their own;
Boldly do thou deſpiſe the Taſte
Of leaden Combs, of Paint, and Paſte,
In thy own native Charms ariſe,
Nor think we judge with vulgar Eyes.
The Locks, which flow'd in Waves of Gold,
Subdu'd the tougheſt Hearts of Old.
For Charms like Theſe, almighty *Jove*
Deſpiſed his ſtarry Realms above,
And, kindled with a mortal Flame,
Down to our Earth a Suitor came;
For, if old Tales we call to Mind,
Or look in *Ovid*, we ſhall find
That *Leda*, *Danaë*, and the reſt,
Whom *Jove* in Maſquerade poſſeſt,
Were Damſels of a ſnowy Hue,
With Locks of Amber, juſt like you.
Such Treſſes, in the Days of Yore,
Venus, the Queen of Beauty, wore;

Which

Which made e'en *Mars* forſake the Field,
And forced the God of War to yield.
Fair *Roſamond*, as Poets ſing,
Enamour'd thus a *Britiſh* King;
With blazing Hair ſhe pierc'd his Heart,
And ev'ry Ringlet proved a Dart.
On Thee may better Fortune light,
Nor may thy Charms ſuch Rage excite!
For tho' a Monarch wore her Chain,
What did alas! that Triumph gain?
An injured Queen, with vengeful Rage,
Purſued her in the Bloom of Age,
And, in a curs'd ill-fated Hour,
Surprized her in the conſcious Bower;
There, with the Dagger, and the Bowl
Wreak'd all the Fury of her Soul.
But no ſuch Ills infeſt the Plain;
Safe in my Cottage may'ſt thou reign;
No jealous Queen will urge her Right,
Nor watch thy Footſteps Day and Night;
My Heart unrival'd thou may'ſt keep,
Whilſt on the Hills I tend my Sheep,
Unenvied thro' the Vales may'ſt rove,
And without Fear or Danger love.
No more then, with unkind Diſdain,
Reject the Conqueſts you obtain,
To Falſehood and deluſive Art,
Wreſting the Dictates of my Heart;
Vouchſafe, for once, in Man to truſt,
Nor raſhly deem us all unjuſt;
For me (believe me when I ſwear;
And thou, O *Venus*, witneſs bear)
However ſqueamiſh Fops may range,
However Taſtes and Modes may change,
Whether the *Black*, the *Brown*, or *Fair*
Shall chance to reign the favourite Hair,
Still ſhall my Voice thoſe Charms approve,
Which vanquiſh'd *Henry*, *Mars*, and *Jove*.

TO

TO

Miſs *Polly Peachum*,

A TOWN PASTORAL.

Written in Imitation of the fourth Eclogue of *Virgil*.

By *J. W.* of *Cheapſide*, LINNEN-DRAPER.

Sicelides Muſæ, paulo Majora *canamus*. Virg.

FArewel! ye Nymphs, who range the humble Plains;
Henceforth a nobler Subject ſwells my Strains.
Aid all ye Muſes; all your Strength combine;
For in dear POLLY all the Muſes ſhine.
When on the Stage you act the moving Part,
My Ears and Eyes conſpire to rack my Heart;
I gaze, I liſten; and in Doubt am loſt
Which happy Faculty is raviſh'd moſt;
Thy Charms tranſport me, while I bleſs thy Voice,
And in the general, loud Applauſe rejoice.
Through every Scene thy rigid Fate I moan,
And in thy ſoft Diſtreſs forget my own;
Domeſtick Charges, courtly Bills unpaid,
Increaſing Taxes, and declining Trade,
Debts, Penſions, Bribes, no more diſturb my Mind,
And ev'n the *Coal-Act* leaves no ſting behind.
With Thee when *Lucy* dares diſpute the Prize,
On the vain Slut I fix my ſcornful Eyes;

Contempt and Rage my throbbing Heart invade,
And from my Soul I curſe——the SAUCY JADE!
When bound in Chains the great MACHEATH I ſee,
Betray'd and ſentenc'd to the fatal Tree,
Moved with thy Tears, my Patriot-Fires decay,
And publick Zeal to private Love gives way;
Compaſſion riſes for the *Robbing Race*,
And, for thy Sake, I beg an *Act of Grace*.
But ſhall my Lips, againſt the righteous Laws,
Vouchſafe to plead a *publick Robber*'s Cauſe?
Ah! no——ſince Juſtice dooms him to the Cart,
Let him be hang'd, that I may gain thy Heart——
Yet how can I expect thy Heart to gain,
When Nobles ſigh, and Ribbons glare in vain?
Once more I long, with unexampled Art
To ſee Thee act this dear, delightful Part;
When not in vain thy Fate thou ſhalt bemoan,
The Rapture ours, the *Benefit* thy own.
Cloſe in my Purſe a *Guinea*, golden-bright,
I keep reſerved for that expected Night;
More would I give!——but what my Stars deny,
Let Courtiers and contending Peers ſupply.
Nor groundleſs is the Hope——with Joy I ſee
Courtiers and Peers contend in praiſing Thee;
Sooth'd with thy *Britiſh* Notes and warbling Flights,
The *Patriot* and *Penſioner* unites.
Ev'n thy own Sex thy ſhining Charms extol,
And, young or old, acknowledge *pretty Poll*;
While Envy *is itſelf in Wonder loſt*,
And Factions *ſtrive who ſhall applaud Thee moſt*.

POLLY PEACHUM:

A new BALLAD.

To the Tune of, *Of all the Girls that are ſo ſmart,*

I.

OF all the Belles that tread the Stage,
There's none like pretty *Polly*,
And all the Muſick of the Age,
Except her Voice, is Folly;
The waining Nymphs of *Drury-Lane*
I now can bear no longer;
And when ſhe's preſent, I diſdain
My *quondam* Favourite, *Younger*.

II.

Compar'd with her, how flat appears
Cuzzoni, or *Fauſtina?*
And when ſhe ſings, I ſhut my Ears
To warbling *Seneſino*.
What tho' her Father is a *Rogue*,
Her Mother tho' a *Whore* is?
Thoſe *Vices* now are high in Vogue,
And *Virtue* out of Door is.

III.

Great Dames there are, who break their Vows
As oft as Madam *Peachum*,
And *greater Robbers* than her Spouſe,
Tho' *Tyburn* cannot reach 'em.

What tho' *Mackheath* too is as bad
As Father, or as Mother,
And, bleſt with *Polly*, is ſo mad
To ramble to another?

IV.

Polly, I ween, is not the firſt,
Nor will ſhe be the laſt, Sir,
Who in an Husband hath been curs'd,
And met the ſame Diſaſter.
How many Courtiers have we known,
Quite rotten-ripe with Poxes,
Who, tho' they ſeldom wed but One,
Keep half a dozen Doxies?

V.

But *Polly*'s not the worſe a Pin,
Her Charms not leſs cœleſtial;
But, tho' to *Rogues* and *Whores* a-kin,
An Angel is terreſtrial.
Some Prudes indeed, with envious Spight,
Would blaſt her Reputation,
And tell us that to *Ribbons* bright
She yields, upon Occaſion.

VI.

But Theſe are all invented Lyes,
And vile outlandiſh Scandal,
Which from *Italian* Clubs ariſe,
And Partizans of *Handel*.
Then let us toaſt the blooming Laſs,
Whoſe Charms have thus enſnared me;
I'd drink it in a brimming Glaſs,
Tho' Parſon * *Herring* heard me.

---

* *The Author of a late famous Sermon againſt the* Beggar's Opera.

A

PROJECT

For MANNING

His MAJESTY's

ROYAL NAVY.

I.

WHilſt dull *Projectors* toil in vain
To *man* the Royal Fleet,
And all their *Schemes* contriv'd with Pain,
Such Oppoſition meet;

II.

Methinks how eaſy were the Thing,
By Methods worthy *Freemen*,
Both for the Honour of the *King*,
And Service of the *Seamen*.

III.

Nor is my *Scheme* at all confus'd,
For no *Bye Purpoſe* made;
Let them like Engliſh Men *be us'd*,
And regularly paid.

EPIGRAM.

WHat ſtrange Reſemblance can your Fancy ſee
'Twixt *W*———'s *Fame* and *Wolſey*'s *Infamy*?
In vain thro' *Greece* and *Italy* you roam,
In vain explore our Annals here at Home;
In vain you conjure up old Shades from Hell;
For, as Friend *Theobald* hath expreſs'd it well,
None but HIMSELF *can be his* PARALLEL.

EPIGRAM.

NO Stone was dug from under Ground,
That *Wolſey*'s Infamy diſplay'd;
Nor the leaſt Likeneſs can be found
Between the *Living* and the *Dead*.

If This be true, pray tell me why
(Since all the hideous Piece abhor)
You always queſtion whom 'tis *by*,
But never queſtion whom 'tis *for*?

AN

AN

EPIGRAM

ON A

Late DEBATE in the *H*—— of *C*——

Concerning the

NATIONAL DEBT.

Printed in *March*, 1727-8.

LAST Week in this Town was a furious Debate,
Between two *great Maſters* and *Champions* of State;
Dread Havock enſued and moſt terrible Work,
While one fought for *Norfolk*, the other for *York*;
Their Hearts full of Ire, and their Tongues ſharp as Swords;
Sure never was ſeen ſuch a *Battle of Words!*
Stout as *Sutton* and *Figg* to their Weapons they ſtood,
Their Eyes darted Fire, and their Speeches drew Blood;
What *one Man* aſſerted, the *other* denied;
They argued, objected, remark'd, and replied;
At length, quoth Sir *William*, let *Numbers* decide.
Then nothing but *Numbers*, *ay Numbers*, was heard;
Which, on telling of Noſes, for *Norfolk* appear'd;
Tho' the Champion of *York* did his Sides ſo belabour,
He ſeemed but to want a *clear Stage and no Favour.*
Yet as it ſtands now, if the World judge aright,
Another ſuch Triumph would demoliſh Him quite;
'Twas but a *drawn Battle* at beſt, without doubt;
One triumph'd *within Doors*, the other *without.*

TO

Her ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

Princeſs *AMELIA*,

AT

BATH.

O Princeſs, form'd with every Grace,
Fair Offspring of our *Brunſwick* Race,
In whom ſuch various Charms are join'd,
Beauty, Good-nature, Strength of Mind,
Griev'd with thy long-continued Ills,
(Which every loyal *Briton* feels)
To Heav'n my ſuppliant Voice I raiſe,
And conſecrate theſe votive Lays.
When late you left your Father's Court,
How mournful was the Day's Reſort?
Each ſympathetick Face and Heart
In your ſevere Diſtreſs took part;
Crouds ſighing ſtood as you paſt by,
And Tears guſh'd forth from every Eye,
Whilſt, as with eager Looks they gaz'd,
Your Fate they mourn'd, your Sweetneſs prais'd,
And begg'd that Heav'n would eaſe your Pain,
And ſend you back in Health again.

Now

Now let thy Springs and mineral Stores
Exert, O BATH, their utmoſt Powers,
Thy Climate more ſerenely ſhine,
Thy Leeches all their Aid combine,
The ſtubborn Illneſs to withſtand,
And in one Cure rejoice the Land!
To theſe may Heav'n a Bleſſing give,
And grant *Amelia* long to live!
Long may her lovely Virtues ſhine,
The Boaſt of her illuſtrious Line,
To bleſs ſome youthful Monarch's Arms,
Well worthy ſuch exalted Charms!
Nor will the Power of Earth and Air
Diſdain to hear a Nation's Prayer;
Lo! from on high He nods his Head;
Our Sorrows ceaſe, our Fears are fled;
AMELIA lives; the royal Maid
Already feels cæleſtial Aid;
Returning Spirits warm her Breaſt,
No midnight Pangs diſturb her Reſt,
Her Eyes their wonted Fires reſume,
Freſh on her Cheeks the Roſes bloom;
Charm after Charm renews her Face,
And every Morning adds a Grace.
O ſpeed! ye Powers, that happy Day,
When, in full Health and Vigour gay,
Returning ſhe ſhall bleſs our Sight,
Of hailing Crouds the dear Delight;
While GEORGE and CAROLINE rejoice,
And BRITAIN lifts to Heav'n her grateful Voice.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE two following little Pieces of Poetry were occaſioned by a Converſation, in which a Gentleman happened to ſay, by way of Gallantry, to a young

young Lady preſent, who had a fine Complexion, that ſhe was perfect *Waxwork*; from whence ſhe took the Name of *Waxy*. The Reader will perceive that They were written in Imitation of *Pygmalion* and the *Statue* in *Ovid*.

WAXY:

OR,

VERSES upon a Young LADY's

BIRTH-DAY.

HAIL to the Light of this revolving Morn,
On which ſuch Beauty to the World was born;
Or rather *made*; for thus Traditions ſay,
That on this happy, this auſpicious Day,
SALMON, the female Artiſt, whoſe Renown
Draws to her Shop the Country and the Town,
A curious Piece, compleat in every Part,
The utmoſt Trial of her plaſtick Art,
Reſolv'd to make; the mighty Work deſign'd,
And thrice, with Art, the coſtly Wax refin'd;
Then kneaded into Form the pliant Mold,
Which glitter'd in her Hands, like burniſh'd Gold.
Graceful and tall ſhe plans the riſing Dame,
And with exact Proportion builds the Frame;
Upon her Lips the lively Coral glows,
And her Teeth ſhine between in Ivory Rows;
The mimick Luſtre brightens in her Eyes,
Firm on her Breaſt the ſnowy Circles riſe;
She turns her Shape, with Treſſes decks her Head,
And mixes on her Cheeks the White and Red;

O'er

O'er her fair Limbs she draws the azure Veins,
Which seem like Rills, that wind thro' flow'ry Plains;
Branches her Fingers out in beauteous Length,
And adds to every Feature Grace and Strength;
The finish'd Piece, with utmost Skill compos'd,
The various Charms of all the Sex disclos'd.
To view this unexampled Work of Art,
Crouds flock'd of old and young from every Part;
All saw, and all the matchless Form admir'd,
But chiefly One, with stronger Raptures fir'd,
Who with a Lover's Eye each Charm survey'd,
And thus to Heaven, in bitter Anguish, pray'd.
Thou Power supreme, at whose commanding Name
From one poor Rib the first fair Woman came,
If Miracles for ever do not cease,
O! work one now; inform this lifeless Piece;
Let not those sparkling Eyes, which charm my Sight,
Shine to charm only, void of real Light;
Nor let those Limbs, so lovely to behold,
Feel to the Touch all languid, stiff and cold;
Give her a Soul, and as her Lips I kiss,
Let them pout forth, and soften with the Bliss;
And those fair, virgin Globes, at thy Command,
Let them heave gently up, and tempt the Hand;
With Life and Warmth invigorate her Charms,
And let me feel her struggling in my Arms;
Be now thy Power, great Heav'n, be now display'd,
And give her to my Wish a living Maid.
Heav'n saw the artless Tumult in his Breast,
Heard his ascending Prayer and made him blest;
Just as he wish'd, behold! it comes to pass,
The lifeless, mute, is made a living Lass;
Her Limbs grow warm, her nimble Eye-balls roll,
And in her Bosom beats the human Soul;
Her soften'd Lips blush like the Morning Rose,
And her loos'd Tongue its proper Office knows;
On either Side her heaving Bosom charms,
And, streak'd with blue, she waves her milk-white Arms;

She

She quickens all, and quicken'd ſhe appears,
Juſt as ſhe did in Wax; a Maid of fifteen Years.
Thrice glorious Morn! diſtinguiſh'd may'ſt thou riſe,
With double Luſtre gild our wintry Skies;
And Thou, for this great Work, amongſt the Bleſt,
May'ſt thou, O! SALMON, may'ſt thou ever reſt;
In Heav'n the happieſt Manſion may'ſt thou find,
For leaving ſuch an Angel-Form behind.

TO

WAXY.

FROM humble Duſt and common Earth
Whilſt other Women take their Birth,
You, *Waxy*, boaſt a nobler Frame,
From more refin'd Beginnings came;
Hear, O! Thou Joy of every Heart,
What Thou haſt been, and what Thou art.
Firſt in gay Groves and bliſsful Bowers
Thy Charms were ſeen in opening Flowers,
Did in the Roſe and Woodbine bloom,
And with their Sweets the Spring perfume:
Each fragrant Shrub, and every Tree
Once, *Waxy*, was a Part of Thee;
From whence the painful Inſect drew
(As daily round the Fields he flew)
Of golden Wax the precious Store,
And to his Hive the Burthen bore.
SALMON did on the Bee refine,
And Heav'n compleated the Deſign,
Wak'd Thee to Life, divinely good,
In all the Charms of Fleſh and Blood.

In

In every Change, through which you paſt,
I trace you down from firſt to laſt;
Sweet as the *Flowers*, in which you bloom'd;
Gay as the *Groves*, which you perfum'd;
Brisk as the *Bee*, which robs the Spring,
And thy Wit pointed like its Sting;
Soft as the *Wax* in SALMON's Hand;
And juſt as *Heav'n*, by whoſe Command
Dwells in thy Breaſt a living Soul,
The Hearts of Millions you controul,
And wrought with more than female Grace,
Triumph ev'n o'er your own fair Race.
But, oh! thus lovely as Thou art,
Thus form'd to melt the youthful Heart,
Scornful and cruel ſhould'ſt Thou prove,
Deaf to the Vows and Prayers of Love,
Better that *Wax* Thou ſtill had'ſt been,
At *Salmon*'s for a Teſter ſeen,
A ſhining, but a lifeleſs Maſs,
By School-Boys gaz'd on through a Glaſs,
Than living make Mankind endure
Thoſe Wounds you give, but will not cure.

THE PROGRESS OF *PATRIOTISM.* A TALE.

Vendidit Hic *Auro Patriam.*

SIR *Ralph*, a ſimple, rural Knight,
Could juſt diſtinguiſh Wrong from Right;
When he receiv'd a Quarter's Rent,
And almoſt half in *Taxes* went,
He rail'd at *Places*, *Bribes*, and *Penſions*,
And *ſecret Service*, new Inventions;
Preach'd up the true, old *Engliſh* Spirit,
And mourn'd the great Neglect of Merit;
Lamented our forlorn Condition,
And wiſh'd the Country would *petition*;
Said, he would firſt ſubſcribe his Name,
And added 'twas a burning Shame

That

That *ſome Men* large Eſtates ſhould get,
And fatten on the *publick Debt*;
Of his poor Country urg'd his Love,
And ſhook his Head at *Thoſe above*.
This Conduct, in a private Station,
Procur'd the *Knight* great Reputation;
The Neighbours all approv'd his Zeal,
(Though few Men judge, yet all Men feel)
And with a general Voice declar'd
Money was ſcarce, the Times were hard,
That what Sir *Ralph* obſerv'd was true,
And wiſh'd the Gallows had its Due.
Thus bleſs'd with popular Affection,
Behold! there came on an *Election*,
And who more proper than Sir *Ralph*
To guard their Privileges ſafe?
So, in Return for Zeal and Beer,
They choſe him for a *Knight o'th' Shire*.
But mark how Climates change the Mind,
And Virtue chops about like Wind!
Duely the *Knight* came up to Town,
Reſolv'd to pull *Corruption* down;
Frequented Clubs of the ſame Party,
And in the Cauſe continued hearty;
Broach'd his Opinions, wet and dry,
And gave ſome honeſt Votes awry.
At length, in that old, ſpacious Court,
Where *Members* juſt at Noon reſort,
Up to our Knight Sir *Blueſtring* came,
And call'd him frankly by his Name,
Smil'd on Him, ſhook him by the Hand,
And gave Him ſoon to underſtand,
That though his Perſon was a Stranger,
Yet that, in Times of greateſt Danger,
His faithful Services were known,
And all his Family's here in Town,
For whom he had a great Affection;
And wiſh'd him Joy of his Election,

Assur'd him that his Country's Voice
Could not have made a better Choice.
Sir *Ralph*, who, if not much bely'd,
Had always some Degrees of Pride,
Perceiv'd his Heart begin to swell,
And lik'd this Doctrine mighty well,
Took Notice of his Air and Look,
And how familiarly he spoke;
Such Condescensions, such Professions
Removed all former ill Impressions.
The *Statesman* (who, we must agree,
Can far into our *Foibles* see,
And knows exactly how to flatter
The weak, blind Sides of human Nature)
Saw the vain Wretch begin to yield,
And farther thus his Oil instill'd.
Sir *Ralph*, said he, all Forms apart,
So dear I hold you at my Heart,
Have such a Value for your Worth,
Your Sense and Honour, and so forth,
That in some Points, extremely nice,
I should be proud of your Advice;
Let me, good Sir, the Favour pray
To eat a Bit with me to Day;
Nay, dear Sir *Ralph*, you must agree——
Your Honour's Hour?——exactly Three.
These Points premis'd, they bow and part,
With Hands press'd hard to either Heart;
For now the publick Business calls
Each Patriot to St. *Stephen*'s Walls;
Whether the *present Debts* to state;
Or on some *new Supplies* debate,
Would here be needless to relate.
From thence, at the appointed Hour,
Sir *Ralph* attends the *Man of Power*,
Who, better to secure his Ends,
Had likewise bid some courtly Friends,

His

His Brother *Townly* and his *Grace*,
Great Stateſmen both, and both in Place;
Our *Britiſh Horace*, fam'd for Wit,
Alike for Courts and Senates fit;
Sir *William*, from his early Youth,
Renown'd for Honour, Virtue, Truth;
And *Bubble*, juſt reſtor'd to Favour,
On pardon ask'd for *late Behaviour*.
The *Stateſman* met his *Convert-Gueſt*,
Saluted, claſp'd Him to his Breaſt,
Then introduc'd Him to the reſt.
Whilſt He, with Wonder and Amaze,
The Splendor of the Houſe ſurveys.
Huge China Jars and Piles of Plate,
And *modiſh Screens*, and Beds of State,
Gilt Sconces of ſtupendous Size,
And coſtly Paintings ſtrike his Eyes,
From *Italy* and *Flanders* brought,
At the Expence of Nations bought;
Yet doth not one of theſe relate
The tragick End of Rogues of State;
Although ſuch Pictures might ſupply
Fit Leſſons to the *great Man*'s Eye;
But *o'er-grown Favourites* dread to think,
From whence they roſe, and how may ſink.
Dinner now waited on the Board,
Rich as this City would afford;
For every Element ſupplies
His Table with its Rarities.
The Gueſts promiſcuous take their Place,
Pro More, without *Form*, or *Grace*;
There might the *little Knight* be ſeen,
With Ribbons blue and Ribons green,
All complaiſant and debonair
As if the King Himſelf were there;
Obſequious each conſults his Taſte,
And, begging to be ſerv'd the laſt,

Points round by turns to every Diſh;
Will you have Soop, *Sir* Ralph, *or* Fiſh?
This Fricaſee *or that* Ragouſt?
Pray, Sir, be free, and let me know.
The Cloth remov'd, the Glaſs goes round,
With loyal Healths and Wiſhes crown'd;
May King *and* Senate *long agree!*
Succeſs attend the Miniſtry!
Let publick Faith *and* Stocks *increaſe!*
And grant us, Heav'n! a ſpeedy Peace!
Diſcourſe enſues on *homebred Rage,*
That rank Diſtemper of the Age,
And inſtantly they all agree,
They never were ſo bleſt, or free;
That all Complaints were nought but Faction,
And Patriotiſm meer Diſtraction,
Though full of Reaſon, void of Grace,
And only meant to *get in Place.*
Sir *Ralph* in Approbation bow'd;
Yet own'd that, with the giddy Croud,
He formerly had gone aſtray,
And talk'd in quite another Way,
Poſſeſs'd with Jealouſies and Fears,
Diſpers'd by reſtleſs Pamphleteers,
In Libels weekly and diurnal,
Eſpecially the *Country Journal*;
But as he felt ſincere Contrition,
He hop'd his Faults would find Remiſſion.
Dear Sir, reply'd the *Blue-ſtring Knight,*
I'm glad you think Affairs go right;
All Errors paſt muſt be excus'd,
(Since the beſt Men may be abus'd)
What's in my Power you may command,
Then once more ſhook Him by the Hand,
Gave him great Hopes (that is, his *Word*)
That He ſhould be a *Treaſury-Lord,*
And, to confirm his good Intention,
At preſent order'd him a *Penſion.*

By

By these Degrees, Sir *Ralph* is grown
The stanchest Tool in all the Town;
At *Points* and *Job-work* never fails;
At all his old Acquaintance rails;
Holds every Doctrine now in Fashion;
That *Debts* are Blessings to a Nation;
That *Bribery*, under *Whig*-Direction,
Is needful to discourage Faction;
That *standing Armies* are most fitting
To guard the Liberties of *Britain*;
That *France* is her sincerest Friend,
On whom, she always should depend;
That *Ministers*, by Kings appointed,
Are, under them, the *Lord's anointed*;
Ergo, it is the self-same Thing,
T'oppose the *Minister*, or *King*;
Ergo, by Consequence of Reason,
To censure *Statesmen* is *High-Treason*.
In fine, his standing Creed is This;
That right or wrong, or hit or miss,
No Evils can befall a Nation,
Under so *wise a Ministration*;
That *Britain* is Sir *Blue-string's* Debtor;
And *Things did surely ne'er go better!*
So the plain country Girl, untainted,
Nor yet with wicked Man acquainted,
Starts at the first leud Application,
Though warm perhaps by Inclination,
And swears she would not with the King,
For all the World, do *such a Thing*;
But when, with long, assiduous Art,
Damon hath once seduc'd her Heart,
She learns her Lesson in a trice,
And justifies the pleasing Vice,
Calls it a natural, harmless Passion,
Implanted from our first Creation,
Holds there's no Sin between clean Sheets,
And lies with every Man she meets.

An

An EXCELLENT

NEW BALLAD,

CALLED,

A Bob *for the C——t.*

To the TUNE of, *In the Days of my Youth——*
In the first Part of the BEGGAR's OPERA.

I.

YE Poets, take Heed how you truſt to the Muſe, *fa, la.*
What Words to make Choice of, and what to refuſe, *fa, la.*
If ſhe hint at a Vice of political Sort, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's a* Bob *for the C——t, fa, la.*

II.

Corruption, Ambition, Pomp, Vanity, Pride fa, la.
Are Terms, that by Gueſs-work are often apply'd; *fa, la.*
To quote HORACE is thought meer Deriſion and Sport; *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's* a BOB *for the C—t, fa, la.*

III.

If *Congreſs* is nam'd, you muſt mean it a Slap; *fa, la.*
The City of *Soiſſons* blot out of your Map; *fa, la.*
Oſtend is a Word of ſuch doubtful Import, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's* a BOB *for the C—t, fa, la.*

IV.

IV.

If *Truce*, or *Galleon* in your Writing appears, *fa, la.*
The Word *Cardinal* mars our foreign Affairs; *fa, la.*
Gibraltar avoid; if you mention that Port, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's* a BOB *for the C—t, fa, la.*

V.

Secret Service you never ſhould venture to write, *fa, la.*
'Twill be ſaid you would bring ſome *dark Matters* to light; *fa, la.*
If you ſpeak of our *Trade*, or ask what we *Export*, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's* a BOB *for the C—t, fa, la.*

VI.

If *Macheath* you ſhould name, in the midſt of his *Gang*, *fa, la.*
They'll ſay 'tis an Hint you would *Somebody* hang; *fa, la.*
For *Macheath* is a Word of ſuch evil Report, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's* a BOB *for the C—t, fa, la.*

VII.

The Word *Penſion* you never ſhould dare to repeat; *fa, la.*
Shall bold, paltry Scribblers reflect on the *Great? fa, la.*
As *Penſions* and *Bribes* ſwell the Levee's Reſort, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's* a BOB *for the C—t, fa, la.*

VIII.

If *Armies*, or *Debts* ſhould eſcape from your Pen, *fa, la.*
You may chance to offend ſeveral thouſands of Men; *fa, la.*
For as *Taxes* are needful *ſtanding Troops* to ſupport, *fa, la.*
Application will cry, *That's* a BOB *for the C—t, fa, la.*

IX.

IX.

Now God bleſs King GEORGE; all his Enemies rout;
fa, la.
All Thoſe that are IN, and all Thoſe that are OUT; *fa, la.*
May true, honeſt Hearts be his Bulwark and Fort, *fa, la.*
And ſo there's an End of a BOB *for the C—t. fa, la.*

Truth *and* Falſhood.

A

FABLE.

ONCE on a Time, in Sunſhine Weather,
Falſhood and *Truth* walk'd out together,
The neighbouring Woods and Lawns to view,
As *Oppoſites* will ſometimes do.
Through many a blooming Mead They paſs'd,
And at a Brook arriv'd at laſt.
The purling Stream, the Margin green,
With Flowers bedeck'd, (a vernal Scene)
Invited each itinerant Maid
To reſt a while beneath the Shade.
Under a ſpreading Beach they ſate,
And paſs'd the Time with female Chat;
Whilſt each her Character maintain'd;
One ſpoke her Thoughts; the *other* feign'd.
At length quoth *Falſhood*, Siſter *Truth*,
(For ſo ſhe call'd her from her Youth)

What,

What, if to shun yon sultry Beam,
We bathe in this delightful Stream;
The Bottom smooth, the Water clear,
And there's no prying Shepherd near?——
With all my Heart, the Nymph reply'd,
And threw her snowy Robes aside,
Stript herself naked to the Skin,
And with a Spring leapt headlong in.
Falshood more leisurely undress'd,
And, laying by her tawdry Vest,
Trick'd herself out in *Truth*'s Array,
And cross the Meadows tript away.
From this curst Hour, the *fraudful Dame*
Of sacred *Truth* usurps the Name,
And, with a vile, perfidious Mind,
Roams far and near to cheat Mankind;
False Sighs suborns, and artful Tears,
And starts with vain, pretended Fears;
At *Court* appears extreamly wise,
And rolls, at *Church*, her Saint-like Eyes;
Talks, in the *City*, much of Trade,
And Seizures on the *Spaniards* made;
Sometimes, in pompous, fustian Rhimes,
Extols our blest *Saturnian* Times,
Our Wealth and Power o'er *Europe*'s Fate,
And Wisdom in Affairs of State;
Or, when the Nation quite on Fire is,
Writes *Observations* and *Enquiries*.
But most affects, in P——t
To *state Accounts* and *represent*;
To prove that Two and Two make Seven,
That White is Black, and Odds are Even;
Pleads, as Time serves, for Peace, or War,
And makes a Jest of *Gibraltar*;
Speaks *pro* and *con*, like honest Y——
And always sticks to what is *wrong*.
Mean while poor *Truth*, in this Distress,
Robb'd of her old, engaging Dress,

Became,

Became, unhappy Maid! the Sport
Of Country, City, Camp and Court;
And, scorning from her Cause to wince,
Hath gone *stark naked* ever since.

AN

EPIGRAM.

OF the *Remoræ* lately much hath been said,
And how they retard our Fleet at *Spithead*;
But, if I judge right, it is not confin'd
By the Strength of those *Fish*, but a CARDINAL Wind.

THE HONEST JURY; OR CALEB Triumphant.

To the Tune of, PACKINGTON'S POUND.

I.

REJOICE, ye good Writers; your Pens are set free;
Your Thoughts and the *Preſs* are at full Liberty;
For your *King* and your *Country* you ſafely may write;
You may ſay *Black* is *Black*, and prove *White* is *White*;
Let no Pamphleteers
Be concern'd for their Ears;
For every Man now ſhall be try'd by his *Peers*.
Twelve good honeſt Men ſhall decide in each Cauſe,
And be Judges of *Fact*, tho' not Judges of *Laws*.

II.

'Tis ſaid Maſter *Caleb* a Paper did print,
Which ſometimes at *ſome Folks* look'd ſlily aſquint;
He weekly held forth of *no Peace* and *no War*;
So was forced from his *Trade*, to appear at the *Bar*.
Thus for talking too free,
Maſter *Attor——ney*
Strain'd his Lungs for to ſet him in the *Pillory*.
But *Pillories* now ſhall be raiſed for the Shame
Of *ſome Rogues*, whom yet 'tis not proper to name.

III.

You may call the Man *Fool*, who in Treaties does blunder,
And ſtile Him a *Knave*, who his Country doth plunder.
If the *Peace* be not good, it can ne'er be a Crime
To wiſh it were *better*, in Proſe, or in Rhyme;
For Sir *Philip* well knows
That *Innuen——does*
Will ſerve him no longer in Verſe, or in Proſe;
Since *twelve honeſt Men* have decided the Cauſe,
And were Judges of *Fact*, tho' not Judges of *Laws*.

IV.

Twelve Judges there are, and *twice twelve Aldermen*,
Many *Lords*, many *Members*, and *Biſhops*——
What then?
Although you ſhould travel all *England* around,
Amongſt them *twelve honeſter* cannot be found
Than this ſame *Ju——ry*,
Which ſet *Caleb* free,
And brought in their Verdict, *He was not Guil—ty*.
Then let theſe *honeſt Men*, who do pay Scot and Lot,
While Ballads are Ballads, be never forgot.

V.

This *Jury*, ſo truſty and Proof againſt Rhino,
I am apt to believe to be *Jure Divino*;
But 'tis true in this Nation (oh! why is it ſo?)
Men the *honeſter* are, as the *lower* you go.
So a Fiſh, when 'tis dead,
I have often heard ſaid,
May be ſweet at the *Tail*, though it ſtinks at the *Head*.
Oh! may Honeſty riſe and confound the baſe Tribe,
Who will be corrupted by *Penſion*, or *Bribe!*

VI.

VI.

A *Jury* there was, when the Pope was in Power,
That brought out *seven Bishops* alive from the Tower;
They saved our Religion from *Jacobite* Fury;
Both That and King *George* then we owe to a *Jury*;
So Those, that brought out
The *Bishops*, no doubt,
Brought in our King *George*, who's so gallant and stout;
Then sure 'tis the Interest of *Country* and *King*,
That *Juries* should never be led in a String.

VII.

Thus far honest *Duncan* hath prophesied right,
And prov'd himself bless'd with the true *Second-Sight*,
Who though deaf and dumb, in Astrology famous
As *Partridge*, *poor Robin*, or old *Nostradamus*,
Did lately divine
That *Caleb* should shine,
And prevail o'er his Foes in the Year *Twenty-nine*;
For *twelve honest Men* have determin'd his Cause,
And rescu'd from Quibbles our old *English Laws*.

VIII.

But one Thing remains, his Predictions to crown,
And That is to see the *Leviathan* down;
Nor let us despair; for the Year is not out,
And a Month or two more may bring it about;
Then in Chorus let's sing,
And say God bless the King,
And grant that all Those, who deserve it may swing!
If *twelve honest Men* were to judge in this Cause,
One good Verdict more might secure all our Laws.

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